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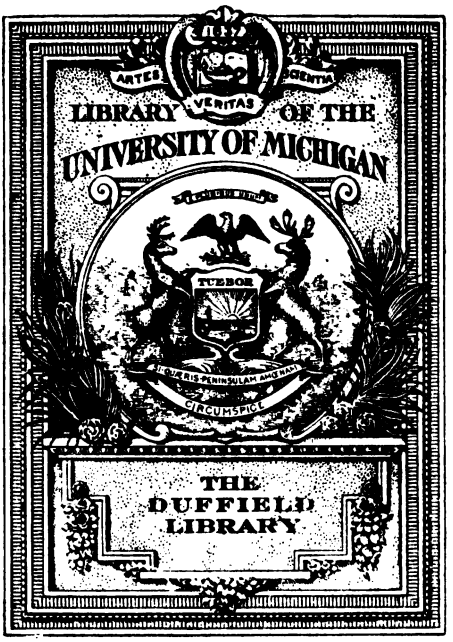

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The discription of the Cities glory, government, division of the People, and Townes within the *Athenian* Territories, their Religion, Superstition, Sacrifices, Account of their Year, a full relation of their Judicatories. By *FRANCIS ROUS* Scholar of *Merton* College in *OXON.*

With an Addition of their Customes in Marriages, Burials, Feastings, Divinations, &c. in the four last books, By *ZACHARY BOGAN*, Scholar of *C. C. C.* in *OXON.*

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Arist. Περὶ κατασκευῆς τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐπιχειρῶμεν, μεῖζον ἔχοντες ἔργον, ὅ, τι φυλαξόμεθα ἢ ὅτῳ χρησόμεθα, εὑρεῖν.

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TO THE

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL

Sr NATHANIEL BRENT Knight,
Vicar Generall, and the moſt vigilant
Warden *of* Merton College
in OXFORD, *Health,*
&c.

IT is the cuſtome of moſt, to impoſe a patronage of their errours upon ſome eminent perſon. But it ſhall be my ambition in this my Dedication to manifeſt my obſervancie. Others make their choice of potent men, thereby to ſhun the darts of envy: it ſhall be my glory to be thought worthy of invidency; whoſe ignorance is not ſo great, but well

knows that ever ſome will bite in ſecret; & ſcourge theſe errours of my youth with private reproaches. But ſuch malignant tongues I will counterpoiſe with the wind, and ſet as lightly by as they are vain. And although I am confidently perſwaded that the covert of your wings bee ſufficiently able to ſhelter my faults; yet had I rather to expreſſe my duty towards you in theſe naked infirmities, whoſe goodneſſe truly knows how * to pardon the bold adventures of Learning. I preſent you therefore With *Athens*, whoſe deplorable raggedneſſe my papers well reſemble: which may challenge this excuſe; that they affimulate themſelves to the Treatiſe in them contained; Which of all men, I my ſelf am conſcious moſt unfitly to have handled. That City once the * nurſe of reaſon; *which flouriſh'd in eloquence, & brave atchievements more than all *Greece*, could not, unleſſe in her miſerable ruines, have without her diſgrace been ſpoken of by me. That *Athens* whence the learned Fathers of the Church ſuckt rare literature, *Baſil* his eloquence

*Auſis literarum ignoſcere Vegetius in Prolog.

*Cic. Epiſt. *Paterc. in ſuo Lib. 1.

eloquence, *Nazianzen* his ſtrength, & others their flowing Oratory: That *Athens* which who had not ſeene is by * *Liſippus* accounted a block. Accept, *Honoured Sir*, theſe Reliques of that famous Vniverſity, though by me offered, as Devotion paid to Antiquity, by you well eſteemed of, though among moſt of theſe our dayes accounted dirt; whoſe labour it is to ſeek new faſhions, and like nought, but what may be accounted novelty. Reſembling the brute, of which *Cicero, Ad id ſolum quod adeſt, quodq; præſens eſt ſe accommodat, paulum admodum ſentiens præteritum, &c.* never caring for what is paſt. But you weigh well the excellency of talking with thoſe Champions of Learning, hundreds of years ſince gathered to their former duſt, by whoſe penſils we ſee drawn the lively images of deceaſed Monarchs, the forms of government, & very lives of ſtates. Out of which patternes, if you pleaſe to deeme the leaſt part of this to have been taken, it ſhall heap to my joy that the following Tract will not ſeem a ſpurious and de-

* Apud Dicæarchum Εἰμὶ πεδίεσιν τῶς Ἀθλώσι, πέλας χθ ἔι.

generate ofspring. Upon preſumption of which I fear not, as the Eagles do their young, to expoſe my brood to the rayes of the open Sunne. Thus with continuall wiſhes for addition to your happineſſe, I take leave, From my Study in *Merton College* Jun. 9. 1637.

Your Worſhips in all humility

to be commanded

F. ROUS.

TO

To the READER.

IT is not a thirſt of empty glory that makes me run the hazard of your cenſure, but a conſideration of the weakneſſe of School-Maſters, who undertake to read the Greek Orators to raw Scholars, themſelves being not ripe in the Attick *Cuſtomes. I have therefore ſo farre endeavoured as you ſee. If any thing may afford a ſcruple to any, he ſhall engage mee that will require ſatisfaction. If any thing ſeem amiſſe, it ſhall be taken by mee as a favour to hear of it from any. For I am not of thoſe whoſe eares are ſtopt, when their errours*

are

are told them. If this pleaſe, it ſhall adde ſpurres to the finiſhing of this courſe intended, & as occaſion may give leave, you ſhall have the reſt that may be ſpoken.

Yours

F. R.

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2 *Athenarum situs,* Ἄστυ, πόλις, Ἀκρόπολις, *Herba lucentes, Murus, Pelasgicus & Cimonicus, Propylæa, Circuitus veteris urbis, & novæ,* ἄνω & κάτω πόλις. *Pireæi brachia. Murus phalericus, Porta, Aer, Lacus passim apud Scriptores, Cephissus fluvius.* pag. 6

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Archæologiæ

ARCHÆOLOGIÆ ATTICÆ.

LIB. I. CAP. I.

Javan, Jas, Jaones, Jonia. Ἀθηνᾶ, Ἀτλαία, Ἀτθίς. *Athena in actâ, Cecropia, Cranaa. Atthis, Attica, Athena ſub Cecrope. Certamen Palladis & Neptuni. Plutarchi ea de re ſententia. Alii ſub Erectheo volunt nominari. Juſtinus ſub Amphictyone. Salenos. Selines. Satina. Sethina.*

BY the Sons of *Noah* * were the Iſles of the Gentiles divided in their lands, every one after his Tongue, when by their audacious folly they would have mounted up to Heaven, thinking to leave a name to Poſterity, by building Caſtles in the Air. From which attempt proceeded that which before they were jealous of, namely a *ſcattering abroad* upon the face of the earth: he having ſpoken it, whoſe breath alone affords a fair wind: hoiſt then they muſt their Sails, and bidding adieu to the plain in the Land of *Shinar*, ſeek out ſome new habitation. Travellers they were of yore, and yet ſtill muſt journey. Each one in as different a courſe, as of a divers language. The Sons of *Shem* their way, the Sons of *Japhet* theirs; *Gomer* and *Magog*, and *Madai*, and *Javan*, with whom I purpoſe one furlong to keep company, leaving the reſt on one ſide or other, or behind, looking only to my propoſed ſcope. *b* Ἀνὰ δὲ Ἰων-

* Gen. 10. 5.

ἀπὸ Ἰωνία καὶ πάντες Ἕλληνες γεγόνασι. From *Javan* came *Jonia* and *all the Greeks*. And in Scripture we have *Javan* pro. Ion. Greece, in *Daniel* twice, c *And when I am gone forth, lo the Prince of Grecia shall come.* And again, d *He shall stir up all against the Realm of Grecia.* Where although the old Translation renders it not *Javan*, yet it is found in the Original. He then coming into the Countrey, called Afterwards *Attica*, left unto it his own name, whence it was tearmed *Jonia* and *Jas*, ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ τὸ ἀρχαῖον Ἰωνία καὶ Ἰὰς ἐκαλεῖτο. *For Attica was anciently called Jonia and Jas.* In which words we still retain some reliques of the Radix, notwithstanding the small difference of the termination. But if we please to view after what title the *sons of Javan* were stiled *Jaones*, we shall come nearer home. *Strabo* in the above quoted place, Ὁ ποιητὴς ὅταν εἴπῃ —Ἐνθὰ δὲ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Ἰάονες — τοὺς Ἀθηναίους λέγει. *Homer*, when he saies, *There the Bœotians and Jaones*, speaks of the *Athenians*. The *Scholiast* of *Æschylus* on these Words,

ἐξ Ἰαόνων γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ πρόσεισι δίκαιοι.

Ἰέναν γὰρ λέγουσι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους λέγεται δὲ τὸν Ἴαονα Βασιλεύσαντα αὐτῶν. *It is to be understood* quoth he, *that the Athenians are tearmed Jaones, from one Jaon* (he means *Javan*) *that was their King.* Neither is it strange that the *vau* or ϝ Ἰάναον is left out, for though it be not written, yet perswaded I am, that it was as much pronounced, as other *au* Dipthongs were. For the *ancient Latines* & the *Greeks* spake it as broad, as if it had been *Thrfanes*, not *Thesaurus*. Sir *Walter Raleigh* is of opinion, *That Asia the first had people before Greece had any, and that Javan did not flie from Babylonia into Greece, but took Asia the lesse in his passage, and from thence past over the neerest way, leaving his name to some maritimate Province on that shore, as he did in that part so called.* In which although the authority of so worthy & judicious a Man might move much, yet it shall be sufficient for me, only to go so far, as antiquity will beare me out. e *Thucydides* reports, that it is manifest that all *Greece* was not ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς οἰκουμένη, firmly inhabited, but that there were continual Pilgrimages, or Removings of the Inhabitants, forsaking their former places, being driven out

b Joseph Antiq. l. 1. c. 7. p. 13.

c Dan. 10. 20.

d Cap. 11. 2.

e Strabo. l. 9. p. 392.

f In persis. p. 133.

g Donat. in Ter. p. 133.

by a ſtronger and greater number. Wherefore when there was no ſafe trafficke or commerce by Sea or Land, each manured his Grounds to have Provent alone to ſerve for preſent neceſſity, deſiring no more than from hand to mouth; it being uncertain how ſoon they might be compelled to get them thence. Whereupon they did more willingly change their ſeats, not taking grievous that ſharp charge, *vetores migrate coloni*, *Be gone you ancient Bores.* But the more fertil Soil had hard bickrings. *Theſſalia*, *Bœotia*, and a great part of *Peloponneſus*, except *Arcadia*, was often invaded, and the old Lords expelled, Τὴν γὰρ Ἀττικὴν, διὰ τὸ λεπτόγειον ἀεὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς οἰκῆσαι οἱ αὐτοί. *But Attica by reaſon of the thinneſs or barrenneſs of the ground, was always inhabited by the ſame men* (none it ſeems being willing to leave his better for a worſe) *not affording fuel to contention.* Out of which peace ſprung up ſo great a multitude that *Attica*, even now ſwarming, and οὐκ ἐκθρέψασα *not able to contain and feed ſo many*, is conſtrained to ſend forth Colonies into *Ionia*, a region of *Aſia* the leſs, which is reported by the *greeks* to borrow denomination from *Ion* the ſon of *Xuthus*, or, as the Poets ſay, *Apollo* and *Creuſa*, who in the words of *Euripides* is thought to be Κτίσας Ἀσίδ' ὄχθους, *the maker or founder of Aſia*. The Mother *Ionia* (for ſo I pleaſe to ſay) kept not ſtill her former name, For in proceſs of time ſhe owned *Actæa*, from *Actæus*, as *d Strabo* ſayes, or from *Actæa*, according to *e Pauſanias*, who was the firſt King thereof, by *f Tzetzes* on *Lycophron*, called *Actæus*. But *g Dion Chryſoſtom* brings a more natural reaſon than this, why it was *Actæa*: *Actæa* ſignifies a *ſhore*, both in the *Greek* and * *Latine* ſpeech. Now becauſe all of it within a little was waſhed with the Sea, and *h* ἀκταίνεται, it might challenge unto it ſelf *Actæa*: *Dion.* ἐδόκει χθαί τι παλαιὸν πάντα εἶναι τὰ ἀπὸ θαλάττης, ὅσα ἢ ἀκτὴ ἢ ἠϊόνα καθεῖρ, οἷον ἀκτὴ τις ἦν. Hence *Anti* by the *ænigmatical Poet* in his *i Caſſandra* is put for this Country. *Tzetzes*, *Becauſe it is* (*Actæa*) *a cliffe, that is caſt and lying in the Sea.* And *Athens* herſelf by *Plautus* is ſaid *Athenæ in actâ, pro Athenis Atticis*, as *k Paulus Manutius* hath noted. But this grew old af-

a Lib. 1. p. 2.
b Thucid.
c In Ione T. 2. p. 619.
d Lib. 9 p. 387.
e In Act. p. 2.
f Pag. 23.
Orat. 6.
* Virg. Æn. 5. p. 213.
h Strabo l. 9. p. 391.

ter a ſeaſon, and *Cecrops* having married the Daughter of *Actæus*, glories in his *Cecropia* (and *Athenæ Cecropiæ, and Cecropis civitas*, and after that *Cranaa*, from *Cranaus* the King that ſucceeded him.) this *Cranaus* among other of his daughters, had one *l Atthis*, from whom alſo was derived *Atthis* and *Attica*, next *Poſidonia* and *Minerva*, from *Neptune* and *Pallas*. In this region ſtood *Athens*, *Queen of Greece*, ſo called from that victory which *Minerva* got over *Neptune*, when *Cecrops* moved with a Prodigie of a ſudden ſhooting up of an Olive, and bubling forth of a ſalt ſpring in the *Acropolis*, conſulted the Oracle of *Apollo*, who taught them that the one did ſignifie *Neptune*, and the other *Minerva* taking therefore the men into ſuffrages for *Neptune*, and the women for *Minerva*, who had moſt voices ſhould carrie it. The females being more, the Goddeſs bore away the Bell. Lo here a wiety Divel to bring in ἴσα χωλὸς θεούς, Gods of his own making, to infold the ſuperſtitious in an ignorant zeal. However let us leave the ſhadow of poetical fictions, & take the true draught out of *Mythologie*, *Plutarch* is of opinion that the ancient Kings, ſtriving to draw away their ſubjects from ſeafaring negotiations and a deſire to live by ſailing, unto tillage and manuring of ground, gave occaſion of the ſpeech that *Neptune* and *Minerva* did altercate about the City. Ἐκάτοι γὲ &c. *Neptune* is put for the Sea, and buſineſſes thereof. *Minerva* for Arts and ingenious kind of life, may ſaies *Ovid* in his Kalender, *Mille Dea eſt operum*, ſhe is Goddeſs of a 1000 Trades. Others ſay that the City was conſecrated to her by *Amphictyon, & nomen civitati Athenas dedit.* c *Juſtine*. Others in the time of *Erectheus*, among which is *Herodotus*, will have this name given. Wch Author *d Marcianus Heracleota* doth follow, ὕστερον δὲ χρόνοις ἔστι χθόνιος ὁ πλοῦτος ὑγιαίνων ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὴν περιουσίαν λαβεῖν. This was that *Erectheus*, who in a time of drought over all the world except *Ægypt*, brought Corn to *Athens*, and taught the *Eleuſinian Myſteries*. Beholding this City hath been to *Ægypt* for other Kings, to wit, *e Cecrops* and *Menestheus*; for his Father *Petes* was an *Ægyptian*. In the time of *Diodorus Siculus*, and before him it was a receiv-

ed

i Pag. 22.

k In Spicilegiis.

l Strabo & Pauſ. locis præd.

a Varro apud Auguſt. l. 18. c. 9. de civit. Dei.

b in Thom. p. 87. l. 23.

c Lib. 2.

ed opinion that *Athens* was peopled by the *Ægyptians*. *Sais* in that tongue answering to *Athena* in *Greek*, as *Tzetzes* out of *Carax*: Nay that they should be of the inhabitants of *Sais*, they argue from this, Because that the *Saitæ* and *Athenians* have divers customs alike. Witness *Diodorus Siculus*. But it pleases not me. I conjecture that first it was called *Athens*, when the people came more seriously to addict themselves to civil Government, and study of good Literature; knowledge and art being ascribed to *Minerva*, τῇ γὰρ Ἀθηνᾷ τὸ ἐπιστήμην σημαίνειν καὶ τεχνὴν, sayes *f Aristotle*. Nay her Name being derived from thence, נתן *Thena* in the *Chaldy* tongue signifying to *study* or *learn*: from wch comes *Thena*, and with an article *Hatthena* as *g Heinsius* the most learned. As for the conceit of *Goropius Becan*, from *ana* the number of three, which notes eternity, and so from *hat-het-ana*. *Athena*. Because wisdom doth contain Eternity, let us send it back into *Germany*. Loe now *Athens* named from learning, which was once the *h shop of letters* and the Muses, whereof it is now deplorably destitute, having lost the glory of former *Athens*, nay the name it self. For if we believe some, they tell us that now it is *Salenos* or *Selines*. To whom I accord not; because that I have read *Selines* for *Megara* called *Nisæa*, which is not many miles from *Athens*. Furthermore in discourse with a native of *Peloponnesus*, who lived many years in that City, I had no other appellation frō him than *Athenæ*, which others write *Satina* corrupted as *Portus* and *Meursius* truly think for τὴς Ἀθηνᾶς. Nay *a Hugo Favolius* who was there himself, even to the same purpose, names it *Sethina*.

Undique sic misera nobis spectantur Athenæ,
Dadalaquus Pallas se se coluisse negaret,
Quas, Neptune pater, numquam tua mœnia dicas,
Indigenæ Sethina vocant. ——

We wretched *Athens* round do veiw, which now,
Though once ingenuous *Pallas* love's her shame,
And t'have been thine, *Neptune*, would'st disavow,
To which the homebred give *Sethina* name.

d ἐκ τῆς σκιᾶς.

e Aristoph. sch. pag. 79. Tzetz in Lycoph. p. 23

f Polit. l. 8. c. 9.

g In Aristar. Sac. Synt. 1. 1. 1. pag. 27.

h Isidor.

a In Hodœp. Byz. l. 3.

CAP. II.

Athenarum ſitus. Ἀκρόπολις. Ἀκρόπολις. *Herbæ lucentes, Muri, Pelaſgicus & Cimonius, Propylæa. Circuitus veteris urbis, & novæ.* Ἐπὶ τὰ κάτω πόλις. *Piræi brachia. Murus Phalericus. Portæ. Aer. Lana paſſim apud ſcriptores. Cephiſſus Flavius.*

GReece, ſays *b Ariſtides*, is placed in the midſt of the whole Earth; and in the midſt of it ſtands *Attica*; the navel whereof is *Athens*, by which all *Greece*, cloſeted in the womb of time, received nouriſhment before an happy birth had brought her forth into the light. She is ſeated upon a very high Rock, which habitations do incompaſs, as *c Strabo*: on the top of which ſtands that renowned Fabrick even to this day, which *Cecrops* from himſelf names * *Cecropia*; of old ἄστυ, *The city*, by a kind of excellence, in a bravado of their Antiquity, concerning wch they were in perpetual contention with the *Argivi*. Witneſs *d Pauſanias* e *Terent. An in aſtu venit?* Donat. *Sic Athenienſes urbem ſuam vocabant, unde ipſi incolæ ἀστοὶ vocantur.* So, ſaith he, the *Athenians* called that City, whence the Citizens themſelves are called *aſtoi*: after that they called it πόλις *f Pauſanias*. Which in his time was called Ἀκρόπολις or the high City, although it be often interpreted *Arx*, a Caſtle; which ever were ſacred to *Minerva*, as *g Ariſtides*. Who therefore is by *Catullus* in his *Argonauticks*, named *Diva potiens in ſummis urbibus arces*: *The Goddeſs that keeps the Turrets of Cities.* This only now remains the ſuccor and ſhelter of the barbarous *Athenians*, being ſtrongly furniſhed with men and Arms, in which alone dwell Janizaries to the number of ſeven hundred thouſand as *Chriſtophorus Angelo* told me, and avouched it, I fearing leaſt he had miſtaken the number. As for the Forces thereof *a Hugo Favolius* ſhall thus inſtruct you,

Arx tantum celebris hoc tempore montis eodem
Quæque impoſita jugo eſt, vaſtas proſpectat in undas
Æquoris

b In Panath. p. 171-172.

c Lib. 9. p. 396.

* Plin. Nat. hiſt. l. 7. c. 56.

d In Art. p. 13. l. 16.

e Eunuch. act. 5. ſc. 6.

f Attic. p. 24. l. 43.

Aëquoris, & circum diſperſa mapalia, & omnes
Eminus indigenas nocuo tutatur ab hoſte,
Nobilis arx, toto qua non eſt altera Graio
Nata magis regno, validiſque inſtructior armis,
Igniveomque magis tormentorum impete tuta.

A Caſtle only famous at this day,
Set on an Hill, below which views the Sea.
The ſcattered thatcht ſheds that ſtand it about,
The Fort deſcends and keeps Invaſion out,
And Natives ſafe. A Fort, none noted more
In *Greece*, which hath a better Warlike ſtore,
Or it for fiery Canons goes before.

g Orat. in Minerv. To. 2. p. 21.

a Hodœp. Pyz. l. 3.

Upon the top of this Turret ſtands the faſhions of Half-Moons moſt rarely gilded, after the manner of the *Iſhmaelites*, who have the Moon in no ſmall honour, as my much honoured Mr *b Selden* hath obſerved. Of which Lunulets thus ſpeaks *Favolius*.

Cujus inauratis longe rutilantia Lunis
Ardua cœlivagas feriunt faſtigia nubes.

Whoſe top with gilded Moons aſpiring high,
Do knock the Cloudes the Pilgrims of the ſky.

Neither may it paſs obſcurely which I have taken up, being let fall frō the mouth of an eye-witneſs, namely, that on the ſide this Hill, on which the *Acropolis* is built, grows a certain kind of herb, that farr off, in the night ſeaſon, gives a moſt ſhining and glittering light, to which when a man ſhall approach, he ſhall diſcern nothing but the herb it ſelf. Of which matter I ſeriouſly wiſh that I could teſtifie the truth. It was delivered to me, *bona fide*, with good credit. The Walls that environ this are none now, ſaies *Favolius*, but in former time it hath been well fenced, ſome part thereof erected by thoſe two *Tuſcan* Brothers, who leaving their Countrey, lived here under the *Acropolis*, called πελαργοὶ, *Pelargi*, Storks, διὰ τὸ πολύπλω, for their wandring. *a Strabo. b Plinie* ſays their names were *Eurialus* and *Hyperbius*. The two that firſt built houſes of Brick at *Athens*, when formerly they had Caves for dwelling places. But by the authority

b De Diis Syris, Syn. 2. cap. 2. p. 288.

authority of *Pausanias*, though the Printers and Scribes have done both that Author and the persons wrong in putting a false name upon one of them, I will do them none. Read then *Laterarias domus constituerunt primi Agrolas & Hyperbius fratres Athenis*, &c. *c Pausanias*, ναοὶ δὲ Ἀγρώλαυ καὶ Τωφεσίου. From these was that part which they edified, called *Pelargicum*. *Aristophanes in Avibus.*

a Lib 9 pag. 397 b Nat. hist. l. 7 c. 65.

Τίς δ' ἀνὴρ κἀφέξει τῆς πόλεως τὸ Πελαργικόν;

The other part of the *Acropolis* which was left naked, *Simon* the Son of *Miltiades* cloathed. *Pausanias* in the fore quoted place. These walls admitted no gate but one, so rarely beautified with that costly *Propylæum* or porch, on which *Pericles* is discommended by *d Demetrius Phalareus* for disbursing so great a sum of money. *e* For which he was not smally troubled how he might give up his accounts to the people; His Nephew *Alcibiades* therefore seeing Him somewhat sad, and demanding the cause, to whom when his unkle replied, that it was about giving his accounts, seek rather, quoth he, how you may not give them. By which counsel the *Athenians* were entangled with their neighbour War against the *Lacedemonians*, in which they found not vacancy for an audit. By the *way* it shall be fit to acquaint y^th now thus much, that it was not permitted to a dog to enter into the *Acropolis*, as *f Plutarch* διὰ τὴν ἀχολίαν καὶ δυσωδίαν, it may be, for his heat in Venery and ill savour. Goats likewise, says *g Varro*, came not thither, unless for a necessary sacrifice once, lest they should hurt the *Olive*, which is said first to have sprung up there. The circuit of this *Acropolis* is said to be threescore stadia. Now a *Stadium* is about some * six hundred and twenty five feet, eight of which make a mile, it being the custome of the ancient Greeks so to measure the length or distance of grounds or Cities, by the σταδία. The first City then is contained in seven miles and an halfe. But to this were added more houses, able to make a City of themselves. And so indeed were they distinguished by ἡ ἄνω & ἡ κάτω πόλις. The upper and lower City. *b Plutarch*, ἅμα κάτω καὶ ἄνω διαλαβόντι περιθέντες τοῖς ἄνω πόλιν διαφυλάξαι. Note here moreover, in the reading

In Attic. p. 26. l. 34.

d Tusc. l. 1 Off. l. 72. e Val. Max. l. 3. c. 1.

f Ἐλλωτ. pag. 175. g De re Rust.

* *Five feet make a pace, and a thousand paces a mile.* Isidor. Orig. l. 15. c. 16.

b In Phoc. p. 549. l. 47.

reading of your Greek Authors, that when you meet with ἄνω in the description of a Country, you presently must conceive the highen part, if it be ἔσω, the lower. *a Thucydides*, ἐσεῖόν τε ἀλλήλους τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι ἔντες ἐν θαλάσσῃ κάτω. *And they preyed upon each other, and among the rest, who were not addicted to the Sea, yet lived below*, understand near the Sea, *Schol.* κάτω πλησίον τῆς θαλάσσης. The ἄνω then and κάτω knit together, made but one joynt corporation; both as it were uniting *Piræum* unto themselves, took up, as *b Dion Chrysostom* writes, two hundred *Stadia*, which is about five and twenty miles. Upon which place, *Morellus* produces a *Scholiast* testifying that the walls were πέμπτον καὶ πεντηκοστὸν ἔτος, fifteen miles save one furlong. Where I wonder that the learned man had not soon perceived the number to have been corrupt, and written κε for ιε, twenty five for fifteen; for so it ought to be. Neither is it strange that it had so large a bound. For consider that from *Piræum* to *Athens* were reckoned five miles, as you may see in *c Pliny*, from *Athens* to *Phalerum*, and so to the other side of *Piræum*, four miles and a quarter. The utmost wall of which *Thucydides* speaks in the second Book, consisted of five miles a quarter and half. The girdle of *Piræum* and *Munychia* had seven miles and an half more. All which being put together, makes up but twenty two miles one quarter and one furlong. But *Dion Chrysostom* must be here understood; and it behoves us to conceive that he spake not barely of the naked walls, for then it cannot hold, but I suppose some houses to have been without. *d* περὶ τὸ ἀσφάλειον, as he saies, τὰ ἔνθεν, εἰκότως· ὁ γὰρ πόλεμος ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι πάντα. In which I appeal to more judicious heads. Neither can I silently pass by the opinion of *John Meursius*, who reading in *e Pausanias* these words; Ἀθηναίοις μὲν ὁ κύκλος μέχρι θαλάσσης ἀφίκνειται τῆς πόλεως ἢ πρὸς Φαληρικῷ θαλάσσῃ; should presently obtrude to us, that *Pausanias* teaches, that the *f* wall called *Phalericus* is but twenty *stadia*, or two mile and an half. When indeed he meant nothing less. For speaking of salt springs, which he calls θαλάσσης κήρυτα, he seems to involve a reason drawn from the nearness of the Sea. For when he

a Lib. 1. pag. 6. 2.

b Orat. 6.

c Nat. hist. l. 2. c. 8.

d Loco citato.

e In Arcad. p. 244. l. 37.

f Att. Lect. l. 5. c. 4.

writes, of this brachish well, *Among the Athenians, the Sea which comes up near Phalerus, is distant from the City but twenty ſtadia at the moſt*, quoth he. Where *Amaſæus* hath thus ſtrangly doted. *Athenæ à Phalero abſunt ſtadia haud amplius xx.* And that this was the meaning of the Author, proves that which follows. He might have likewiſe conſidered that πρὸς with a Dative caſe, ſignifies not only *juxta* and *prope*, as I have tranſlated it, but *ſupra* ſometimes, which will now ſerve better. And *Meurſius* indeed blames the number, but ſees not into the words. Now it is not needleſs that the two walls, which joyn *Piræum* and *Athens* at ſo long a diſtance, be ſomewhat ſpoken of, ſeeing they are reckoned by *a Livie* among the *multa viſenda*, Many things worthy of ſight at *Athens*. Theſe are the μακρὰ τείχη, in *b Propertius*, *Theſe a brachia longa via*. *c* Appian of *Alexandria* μακρὰ σκέλη, and *d Plutarch* in *Cimone*. One lying towards the North, of which *e Plutarch*. The other towards the South, in height about forty Cubits, as *f* Appian teſtifies. Theſe are called Τὰ μέσα τείχη by *g Dion Chryſoſtom*, becauſe *Athens* being at one end, and *Pyræum* at the other, theſe were drawn forth between. And when Writers ſpeak of Νότιον τὸ μέσον τεῖχος, it may be conjectured that 'tis for diſtinction of that Νότιον τεῖχος in the *Acropolis* which *Cimon* built, *h* witneſs *Pauſanias*. *Ariſtophanes* ſeems to bring authority for an opinion that *Themiſtocles* built theſe. *In i Equitibus*:

Τὸν Πειραῖ' οἰκοδόμησεν.

Which his *k* Scholiaſt affirms, Τὸν δὲ Πειραῖ' ἔφασαν ἅπτεσθαι τῆς πόλεως. *For Themiſtocles added Piræum to the City.* We read in *l Probus* that he was the onely Agent in walling the City, & that he ſo haſtned the accompliſhing, that they were fain to be as it were Sacrilegious, and make uſe of Materials formerly conſecrated to the edifying of Temples, and Monuments of the dead. But *Plutarch* gain ſaies this, and that he did only τὸν κύκλον ἔξωθεν τῶν τειχῶν, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν συνάπτειν, conjoyn the City and *Piræum*, and put the Land to take acquaintance with the Sea. It ſeems ſomewhat forward before. However, ſo ſtrong was the ground it was founded upon,

a Lib. 31.
b Lib. 3. Eleg. 19. p. 192.
c In bello Mith. p. 225. l. 9.
d Pag. 355. l. 13.
e In pericle. p. 115. l. 20.
f In Mith. p. 225. l. ult.
g Orat. 6.
h I Attic. p. 19. l. 8.
i p. 337.
k p. 337. A. col. 2.
l In Them. p. 87.
m In Them. p. 87. l. 25.
n Plut. in Cim. p. 355. l. 14.

upon, that the work soon came to great reparation, which *a Cimon* the son of *Miltiades* undertook. For with Stones of a huge weight, and Lime, he made the Earth so firm that it could not give. Nay he was so liberal, that he did out of his own expenses so great favours to a People, that some years after gratifyed him with exile. Neither did he only mend the breaches, but in after time *o* finished the whole work, so that he may truely be said to be the founder of them. Let us now come to the Gates of the City. * *Meursius* hath observed ten, but I fear they will scarce suffice to such a vast City. Take then these, *Dipylon* or *Thriasia*, the faireſt of all, *velut in ore urbis posita*, placed as it were in the front of the City, layes *Livie, major aliquanto patentiorque quàm cetera est*, greater somewhat and wider than the rest. Hence I suppose named *Dipylon*, as if it were as big as two Gates. Πειραϊκαὶ. *Piraica*, neer the Temple of *Chalcodon*. Here were buried some of those that died in fight with the *Amazons* in the time of *Theseus*. *q. Plutarch.* Ἱππάδες, *Hippades*, where the bones of *Hyperides* the famous Orator rest with his Progenitors, who being racked under *Antipater*, chose rather to bite off his tongue, than to divulge the secrets of his countrey. *a* Ἱερὰι, *Sacræ*, the Sacred Gate. We read of this in *b Theophrastus's Characters*; but to my great admiratiõ that the Eagle-sighted *Casaubon* had not espy'd a fault. For though it be true that there were such gates at *Athens* as Ἱεραὶ, yet is there any that ever read μετὰ τὰς Ἱερὰς πύλας ἐξενεχθῆναι νεκρὸς, the dead to have been carried out to burial through the sacred gate? It makes not any thing that it was spoken to a stupid fellow, for they spake not as our vulgar do, such as *when Christmas comes out of Wales*, write then Ἐλευ, Ἐλευ are the gates at which they went forth with their corps at the solemnizations of their obsequies, the reason of which shall be spoken hereafter. *c Demosthenes*, Αἰγὶδος πύλαι, The gates of *Ægeus*. It seems to have been in *Delphinium* where he dwelt; whence the *Hermes* or Image towards the East end of the Temple was called *d* Ἑρμῆς ἐπ' Αἰγίδος *The statue at the gates of Ægeus*: Μιλτιάδης *Miltiades*. Where lyes *Thucidides* the son of

o Plut. p. 355 l. 12. μηδὲς τὸ ὕστερον *may have respect to Conon, who after the victory at Cnidus erected these walls, as* Pausan. in Attic. p. 2. l. 14. *I would neither deceive my self nor the Reader.*

* Attic. Lect. Initio.

p Dec. 4. l. 2. p. 11. A.

q In Theseo. p. 2. l. 20.

a ἐκ βλοις ἱερῶν p. 456.

b περὶ ἀπραγμοσύνης p. 45.

c pag. 715. num. 95.

d Plut. Thes. p. 4. l. 21.

Olorus that wrote the *Peloponesiaꝑ War*, who after his return into his countrey from banishment, was treacherously murthered, his Sepulchre stands neer these gates. *e Pausanias* Κεραμικὸς, *Ceramicus*. These are called by *Xenophon* αἱ ἐν τῷ Κεραμικῷ πύλαι *The gates in Ceramicus*, where many of the *Lacedemonians* were buried, wch died in the seditious War, that *Thrasybulus* made against the *Thirty Tyrants*. *f Xenophon*. Διοχάρους πύλαι, The gates of *Diochares*. Of whom I have nought to speak. Ἀχαρνικὸς πύλαι, the *Acharnan* gates. I suppose they were called so from the Town or Village neer, named *Acharna*, to which it is probable it looked. For so did the ancients name their Gates from the Town to which they were neer. The *Romans* their *porta Collatina*, from *Collatia*, a Bridge not far off. And happily it is so here, as also in Δῆμοι, *Diomea*; for *Diomus* is a people of *Athens* not any great matter distant from the City. Θρᾳκία, *Thracia*. These are all that I met with named. Others there are obscurely pointed at by *g Pausanias*, as that neer the Gallery, which from its various draughts, they call *Pœcile*, where is the effigies of *Mercurie Agoræus* in brass. And others about the beginning of his *Attica*, of wch I had better hold my peace, than speak as good as nothing. Thus have we found twelve gates which being opened, enter, suck that sweet air, whose excellent purity brought forth such acute wits, and prepared with a most happy bounty understanding judgments for contemplation. Whence *Euripides* may well strein to this note, that *Venus* sitting neer and adorning herself, sends forth continually *Cupids of Learning*, ταυτὸν ἔρωτας ξυνεργούς. Well may he blesse that clime smiling it, ὁ λαμπρὸν πατὴρ αἰθήρ, which hath been the mother of the *Muses* (by the leave of *Mnemosyne*) or at least the Nurse to them, for there are they said to have travelled with *Harmonia*, as if there were no such melodious concent, as in the Sciences. Let not *d Theophrastus* assert all *Greece* to lie under the same temperature & disposition of the heavens, when at this day it may be spoken, as once *Aristides* did of it; *e* No coast so truly void of all earthly dregs, and participating more

e Atticis p. 21. l. 41.

f Ἑλλωτικ. C p. 278. l. 43.

Meursius *hath added two*, Itineæ, & Scæ. in Atticis, *which I never saw until I had written this place, as God and man is witness. I speak least any should think I have stolen out of him, because we meet.*

g Atticis p. 14.

a Cassiod. Var. l. 12.

b Medea p. 460, 461. *c* Med. p. 459. *d* In Præf. ad Char. & *e* Tom. 1. p. 173.

more of the celestial and defecated air. Not unworthily hath *Sophocles* been lavish in expressions, *f Famous*, *g The most renowned*, h *Happy*, i *Sacred* Athens. *Pindarus*, k *Wonderful*, l *much spoken of*, m *Neat*, *&c.* To the making up of her delight comes to all the river *Cephissus*, which is able to bear Vessels of a good burthen, as I have been informed, but the *Turks* fearing least it might be advantagious to an enemy that might invade them, have cut it into many & sundry little streams, damming up with an innumerable quantity of stones the mouth of the river for a mile in length. Thinking they have sufficiently prevented that, which they did but suppose could happen.

f Aia. p. 57.
g Oed. Col. p. 258.
h Oed. Col. p. 264.
i Aia. p. 71.
k l m p. 391.

CAP. III.

Ἀττικοὶ, Ἀθηναῖοι, Mores, & Ingenia. τὸ μισοβάρβαρον. Quantum hodierni differunt à veteribus; & qualem vitæ rationem modumque habent.

THe *Athenians* by *l Dicæarchus* are divided into two sorts *Ἀττικοὺς*, *Atticos*, and *Ἀθηναίους*. Of which, though there were no difference in latter times, yet certainly of old there was. Insomuch as one of the punishments, which the *Athenians* are said to inflict upon their women (for the appeasing of *Neptune*, bringing in an inundation upon their fields to their great damage, in anger conceived for loss of the Title of the City) was this, *m* That none should after call them *Ἀθηναίους*, *Athenians*, but *Ἀττικὰς*, *Atticos*. A revenge I suppose opprobious enough. For thus writes my Author. Οἱ δὲ περίεργοι ταῖς λαλιαῖς ἄνομοι, συκοφαντώδεις, παρατηρηταὶ τῶν ξενικῶν *That Curious babblers, Deceitful, Calumniators, Observers of the lines of strangers.* Περίεργοι ταῖς λαλιαῖς. A sufficient witness of this is *a* St *Luke*, that saies, *They did regard nothing more than to hear and speak novelty.* To which end they often met in Barbers shops, where all news, that was going in those days, were currant. Hence say we, *verba in tonsorinis proculcare*, and in Greek ἐπὶ τοῖς κειρομένοις λόγους, *b Aristophanes*.

l ἐν βίῳ Ἑλλάδος p. 169.
m Varro apud Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. 18. c. 9.
a Act. 17.
b In Pluto p. 38.

Καὶ

Καὶ τὸν λόγον γ' ἐκεῖνον, τὸν ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ, πάλιν
Ἐξῆν τοῖσι κυρίοισι κᾀπιδιώκειν
Οἱ ἐξαίφνης ἀνὴρ γεγένηται πλούσιος.

They that ſate in Barbers ſhops did talk much that he was ſuddenly grown rich. The Scholiaſt ſeems to take the meaning, as if the Comedian had quipped them for reſorting to Barbers, and neglecting Barber Chyrurgions, of better credit. But I ſee no reaſon. They met in both to prattle, *c Aelian.* Καθεζομένους ἐν ἰατρείῳ, λοιμοὺς, καὶ πανοῦργον ἀγχίνοιαν ἐν πολλῇ τέρψει ἀλλήλοις τιθεμένους. Sitting in a Chyrurgions ſhop, ſcandalous, and thirſty to ſpeak ill by all means, *d* πονηροὺς, men Italianated, who can ſmile even when they cut your throat. Such as *Theophraſtus* hath in his Characters drawn out, who can be affable to their Enemies, and diſguiſe their hatred in commendation, while they privily lay their ſnares; that ſalute with mortal Embracements, and claſpe you in thoſe armes, which they mean to embrew in your deareſt Blood. In ſum, fair without, but rotten within, like a Wound which is healed above and ſeems ſound, but putrifies under the skin. And ſo much the word doth import. Συκοφαντοδίκους, Given to falſe accuſations. The Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes* writes, That it being forbidden to carry Figs out of *Athens*, and ſome, nevertheleſs the Decree being abſolute againſt it, preſuming ſo to do, they ſet Rogues in the Gates that did appeach them (as *f Plutarch* likewiſe.) Hence came this word to be uſed for any crafty Knave that gets his living by promoting, *g* ὑπ' αὐτοφαντίας ζῶν. One that meddles in every mans affairs, and therefore *h Ariſtophanes* hath fitly brought one upon the Stage, tearming himſelf an *Overſeer* both of private and publick matters. If then ſuch a perſon had eſpied any tripping, and gotten him on the hip, he would as ſure have fetched him over for his Coyn, as any *Summoner* doth a perſon delinquent towards the fleſh, or any Lawyer a Credulous Client, and having wel plumed him, afterwards give him a Diſmiſſory. Ἐκεῖνοι (*Sycophantæ*) τὸν μὲν πρὸ ὧν χρήματα λαμβάνουσι, ζῆν οἴων. *Xenophon.* Such were many in *Athens*, inſomuch that *Ariſtotle* being asked what *Athens* was, anſwered πανδοκεῖον, *all*

c Var. hiſt. lib. 3. c. 7.

d Cap. περὶ ἀγροικίας.

e In Plut. pag. 5.

f In Solone pag. 65.
g Xenophon. Ἑλλην. β. p. 271. l. 20.
h pluto p. 90. *c.* p. 61. b.

i Ἑλλην. β. p. 272. l. 19.
k Ὄνομ. π.

k cauſiful.

beautiful, ἀλλ' ὄχνῃ ὀπ' ὄχνη γηρύετο, σῦκον δ' ἐπὶ σύκῳ, in a verſe of *a Homer*, in the deſcription of *Alcinous* his Garden, but pears grew ripe after pears, and figgs after figgs, meaning a continual ſucceſſion of ſycophants, this made *Iſocrates* the Orator to compare the city to a *Curtizan* with whom few there were but would have to do, yet none dare take to wife; affirming it the beſt place to ſojourn in, but the worſt to inhabit: By reaſon of their Sycophants and treacheries of nimble tongued Orators. Παραπηλαὶ τῆς ξενικῆς βίου. I was once half in an opinion that theſe words were to have been put to the former, thus; συκοφαντικὸς παραπηναὶ τῆς ξενικῆς βίου. And I think the ſence will run well, *Malitious obſervers of the lives of ſtrangers.* The *Athenians* were φιλόξενοι, and held hoſpitality ſacred, and I doubt not but they had that Law, *That forrainers ſhould receive no wrong*, ἵνα μὴ ἀδικῶνται. *b Socrates* in *Xenophon.* Now he diſcommends the Ἀτταλοὶ as ready to trouble and vex ſtrangers in law, duly marking & bearing an eye unto them to take them at an advantage. As for the *Athenienſes* they were μεγαλόψυχοι, ἁπλοῖ τοῖς τρόποις, φίλας γνήσιοι φύλακας, *Brave ſpirited, ſingle dealing, & faithful friends.* But as the words were at length confounded, ſo did their manners *degenerate* growing into ἀνωμαλίαν τῆς φύσεως, an *Irregularity of nature* as *c Polybius.* No, μεγαλοψυχία afterwards, but haughtineſs of ſpirit, magnanimity now fallen. And when *d Livy* ſays, *Ex vetere fortuna nihil præter animos ſervare*, he means, they had nothing left but thoſe proud ſpirits; which their ancient flouriſhing fortune hath puffed up. No ἁπλότης or ſimplicity, *no lamb-like innocency*, or *mildneſs*; but as *f Plutarch* ſpeaks, *people raſhly angry, ſoon pittiful, rather inclined ſharply to take Opinion, than quietly to be Enformed. And as they are ready to help baſe and abject peaſants, ſo friendly do they entertain childiſh and ridiculous toyes, rejoycing in their own praiſes; and nothing moved with ſcurrility, Fearful and terrible even to their Governors, humane towards their Enemies.* Not unfitly then *g Valerius Maximus*, *Quantam ergo reprehenſionem merentur, &c.* How deſerve they to be blamed who though they had juſt laws, yet had moſt wicked diſpoſi-

b Ἀπομνημ. β. p. 4. 28.

c Lib. 6.

d Dec. 4. p. 7. l. 1.

e Ariſtoph. pag. 694.

f πολιτ. παραγγ. p. 387.

g Lib. 5. c. 3. pag. 207.

tions,

tions and chose rather to take their own courses, than put in practice their statutes? As for their impudence, so great was it, that to express a countenance void of shame, the Comoedian hath put Ἀθηναῖον βλέπω, An *Athenian look*, in h *Nubibus*: ἀθηναίας γνώμης φύλακες, So accounted in the time of *a Paterculus*, that what was done in sincerity and faithful trust, the *Romans* would say it was performed *fide Attica*, with an *Athenian* loyalty. Fear and power might make them trusty, but how they broke their Leagues, took part with other *Islanders* against confederates, and violated the Laws of arms, Historians are not dumb. As for their wrath, it was ἀμνησίκακος, ever mindful, as *b Virgil memor iræ*. And the hatred they prosecuted the Barbarians withall, was so unquenchable, that it burned against *c* all *Barbarians* for the *Persians* sake; and they forbad them their Sacrifices, as they used to do murderers among them: Where you must note, that all that were not *Gracians* were called of them *Barbarians*. But loe! how are they now become all *barbarous!* whether or no people of *Africa*, or some of the *Catelani*, I cannot justly tell, *Mahumetans* all, poor and miserable, living by rapine, or fishing, or tilling the earth, *d Favolius*. *Duraq; coacti*

Pauperie assuerunt vitam tolerare rapinâ.
Aut passim infestant furto, raptoq; propinqua
Æquora pirata, sed qua pars æquior, hamis
Fallit inescatos teretі sub arundine pisces.
Aut desolatas exercet vomere terras,
Semper inops, misera, infelix, rerum omnium egena.

Oppresst with need, they do their life sustain
By rapine, and annoy the neighbour main
With pillaging. Who are more just and good,
With angling do the silly fish delude;
Or plough the grounds made desolate before,
Unhappy, wretched, mis'rable, still poor.

b Pag. 189, g.
a Lib. 2. p. 47.
b Æneid. 1.
c Isocrat. in Pan. 109.
d Hodœp. Byz. l. 3.

CAP. IV.

De populi divisione, Εὐπατρίδαι. Γεωμόροι. Δημιοργοί. Πεντακοσιομέδιμνοι. Ἱππεῖς. Ζευγῖται. Θῆτες. *Quid Athenienſibus cum Ægyptiis commune.*

THere were at firſt two kinds of People in *Athens*, [c] two orders, *quibus inter gradus dignitatis fortunæq; aliquid interluebat*, in which there was difference of dignity and fortune: ſuch as at this day are in *France*, either Peers or Peaſants; or as in *Venice*, *Patricians* and *Plebeians*. And although *Pollux* calls them τρία γένη, three ſorts, yet I make but two, becauſe the γεωμόροι were not any way more gentile for blood, ſurpaſſing for riches, or happy for life. But becauſe he hath ſo ſet them, take them thus, as he ſpeaks, [a] τρία γὰρ ἦν ἔθνη τὰλαι, Εὐπατρίδαι, Γεωμόροι, Δημιοργοί. Εὐπατρίδαι, *Eupatridæ*, were ſuch as were deſcended from the loyns of thoſe *Heroes*, famous in *Greek Hiſtory*, whoſe families were ever renowned, and poſterity propagated to many generations, ſuch as *Praxiergidæ*, *Eteobutadæ*, *Alcmæonidæ*, *Cynidæ*, *Ceryces*, *&c.* whom we may term Nobles, or men of good birth. Γεωμόροι, *Geomori*, may not ſeem unlike our Yeomen, who had land of their own, and ſuſtained themſelves with the fruit and commodity of theſe their poſſeſſion. Δημιοργοί, *Deminrgi*, were men of ſome handy-craft, Tradeſ-men, ſuch as Tent-makers, Shoo-makers, Carpenters, Maſons & the like. But *Solon* made another diviſion. For when the *Diacrii*, which were thoſe that lived in the upper part of the City, οἱ ἐξ ἄστεως, ſays *Diogenes Laertius*; and the *Pediæi*, which likewiſe are πεδιεῖς, ſuch as lived in the middle of the City, or the Plain. And the *Paralii* who lived near the Sea, were at contention about Government. The *Diacrii* leaning to a Democratie, as [e] *Plutarch* writes, the *Pediæi* to an Oligarchy, and the *Paralii* between both, and had choſen *Solen* to arbitrate and determine the matter; he make theſe four ranks. πεντακοσιομέδιμνοι, ἱππεῖς, ζευγῖται, θῆτες, *Pentacoſiomedimnos*, *Equites*, *Zeugites*, *Thetes*.

[c] *So doth* Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus, *divide them into* εὐπατρίδας & ἀγροίκους, lib. 2. n. 2.

[a] Pollux. l. 8. c. 9. p. 404.

[b] In Solone.

[e] Pag. 61. In Solonem.

Pentacosiomedimni were those who ἐν ξηροῖς ὁμοῦ καὶ ὑγροῖς could make five hundred measures in wet and dry commodities alike. What *Possardus* then brings out of *Varro* concerning *medium*, hath no place here, for he supposes that *Pentacosiomedimnus* was he that had as much ground as fifty *Medimni* could suffice to sow; but here I will confute him with a wet finger, ἐν ὑγρῷ: For he seems to sow upon the waters. This is he whom the *Elzivirii* printed at *Leyden*, *An.* 1635. under the name of *Postellus*, who was sometimes a Professor of Tongues in *France*, and Author of the Treatise *de Magistratibus Atheniensium*. *Equites* were such as were of ability to keep a horse, or had the quantity of three hundred measures in dry, and as many in wet: called likewise ἱππάδα πλοῦτον. *Zengitæ*, were such as could of wet and dry in all make but three hundred. Any of these three could bear office in the Common wealth. A fourth rank which is called e Θῆτας, *Thetæ*, a name from servility, which had no power in the rule of the Weal publick. But it had not been amiss if I had shewn how the *Ægyptians* had divided their people into three Classes as the *Athenians* did, as I have spoken above. For the first degree or *Eupatridæ* addicted to learning and study, who were had in greater honor, answer to the *Ægyptians* Priests. f Nay those great houses in *Athens* had Priesthood by succession, as *Eumolpidæ*, *Ciryces*, *Cynidæ*. For out of the stock were chosen Priests, hence ἱερωσύνη ἐκ γένους in g *Demosthenes*. The *Geomori* who had lands assigned to them for the maintenance of the War, are not dislike them in *Ægypt* who hold possessions on these tearms, namely, To provide Souldiers when need shall require to fight. The *Demiurgi* resemble those Plebeians, who skilful in some Art, did set out their labor to daily hire, as *Diodorus Siculus* can testifie.

d Plut. p. 65.

e Plutarch. loco prædicto.

f Plut. Thes. p. 8. l. 18. num. 164.

g Pag. 741.

CAP.

CAP. V.

Tribus quatuor ſub Cecrope, mutata earum nomina Augentur à Cliſthene: duæ additæ. φρατρίαι. φρήτρες. Τετταρες. *Tribuum.* Κοινωνία φυλετικὰ δεῖπνα, φρητρικά.

IN *Athens* there were but four Tribes under the rule of *Cecrops*. *Cecropis, Autochthon, Actæa, Paralia*; which had other names put to them, *Cranaïs, Atthis, Meſogæa, Diacris*. I ſuppoſe from the parts of *Attica*, it lying partly neer the Sea, thence *Actæa*, partly hilly, thence *Diacris*, partly Mediterrane, thence *Meſogæa*, the other name from the King that was then; whether the King would honour that Tribe ſo much, or the Tribe glory in the name of the King, I know not. It is probable that it was an honor to their Governor, for as *Cecrops* gave the firſt names, *Cranaus* the ſecond, *each aſſuming a title to himſelf*. *Eriſthonius* called them after the name of *Jupiter, Pallas, Neptune, Vulcan*. Διάς, Ἀθωνάς, Ποσειδωνιάς, Ἡφαιστιάς. But when *Jon* came to rule, they were named after his four ſons, *Geleontes*, *Ægicoreis*, *Argades*, *Hopletes*, as *a Herodotus* and *b Euripides*. Though *Plutarch* ſaies that they were ſo called, *c* ἀπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων οἱ βίοι τὸ πρῶτον, from the courſes of life which they firſt took. But *Cliſthenes*, a man factious and wealthy, is ſaid by the Councel of *d Apollo*, *Ariſtæon* being Archon, to make ten of them, changing the ancient titles, and taking new from ſome Demigods or *Heroes* born in that land, all except *Ajax* whom though a ſtranger, he put to the reſt as a neighbour and companion, *e Herodotus*. Theſe then were called Ἐπώνυμοι, as you would ſay, giving names; the word ſo ſignifies ſometimes, as *Minerva* is ſaid by *Dion Chryſoſtom*, Ἐπώνυμος Ἀθηνῶν, who gave the names to *Athens*. To theſe were erected Statues neer the Councel place of the Senate Their names are theſe, as *f Pauſanias* hath them, *Hippothoon, Antiochus, Ajax Telamonius, Leo, Erechtheus* that ſlew *Immaradus* the Son of *Eumolpus* in the *Eleuſinian* War, *Ægeus, Oeneus, Acamas, Cecrops, Pandion*,

a In Ter. ſich. p. 147.
b In Ione verſus finem.
c In Solon. p. 65.
d Ariſtides T. 1. p. 336. A. T. 3. p. 352.
e In Tirp. ſich. p. 137.
f 13 Art. p. 4. 5.

Pandion. From these Ἱπποθοωντὶς, Ἀιγηϊὶς, Ἀιαντὶς, Λεοντὶς, Οἰνεὶς, Κεκροπὶς, πανδιονὶς. To which they put two more, one called after *Antigonus*, the other after *Demetrius* his name in gratitude to them for the favours received; which in process of time they changed into *Attalis*, and *Ptolemais*, as *Stephanus* writes, διὰτὸ ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμωνύμων αὐτοῖς βασιλέων, having been courteously entreated by the * Kings bearing that name. Which being so, let us take heed that *Livy* deceive us not, who at the time, when *Attalus* did succor the *Athenians* against *Philip*, saies, They first thought of adding that Tribe to the ten, in thankfgiving that the *Rhodii* rescued four fighting Ships of the *Athenians* taken by the *Macedonians*, and sent them home, *a Tum primum mentio illata de tribu quam Attalida appellarent, ad decem veteres tribus addenda.* Thus have we seen that there were twelve Tribes in all. Let us look back to the first institution. I suppose they were first ordained for the better administration of Civil Government. *b Eustathius* writes that they were divided in imitation of the year the four Tribes according to the four Quarters; each Tribe into three Fraternities, which they call τριττύς or φρατρία answerable to the twelve Months, each φρατρία or τριττὺς, into thirty γένη or kinreds, equalizing the daies. For so many only had the year of old. Witness the Riddle of *c Cleobulus* concerning the year.

Εἷς πατὴρ, παῖδες ϛ δυώδεκα, τῇσι ἑκάστῳ
παῖδες τριήκοντα. διάνδιχα εἶδος ἑκάστου.

One Father had twelve Sons, and each Son thirty Daughters, and every Daughter black and white, meaning days and nights. Over these were Governors, φυλοβασιλῆς, Kings of the Tribes, who sate upon Controversies between party and party of their own Tribes. Each Tertian also had his overseer called Φρατριάρχης the Ruler of the *Tritys* or *Phratria*. The word may seem to signifie a Society: Fellowship, or Company: it skils not whether you derive it from φατρία, *Eustath.* or πατρὰ, as *Suidas*, or φρέαρ, as others which is a Well, because they drew water from the same Well. For the place being scanty of Springs where *Athens* was founded, ther

* *These are reckoned among the Epsonymos in Paus. p. 5. who had Statues likewise. a decad. 4. l. 1. p. 6.*

b In Il. C. pag. 1281.

c Laertius p. 63. l. 1.

there being but one well-ſpring in *Athens*, they were conſtrained to uſe φρέατα πατητὰ, digged Wells, as *d Plutarch.* φράτορες are the men of that ſociety, called by *Tully*, *Curiales*; of the ſame Ward, ſpeaking of *Cimon*, who gave command that his ſervants ſhould afford what they had, if any *Laciades* ſhould come into his Farm. in diſcription of which thing *Plutarch* uſes δημότης, which then we are not to interpret *Curialis* (For this is as much as ὠμόσιος and συμμυσάτης) but *popularis*: Theſe at Feſtival days in *Athens* met in a place called *Phratrion*, as *a Euſtathius* obſerves and *b Pollux*; where they brought their Children to be engroſſed in their Books, as ſhall be hereafter ſpoken, with the reaſons thereof) φρατρεύζειν, *Phratrizein*, from hence comes, which is τὰς φρατρείας *Curiare*, to meet for ſo *Euſtathius* in another place. εἰς ταυτὸ συνιέναι. As for the γένη, or kinreds, we muſt not think that they were of one blood, but of that near conjunction which they had each with other, being admitted into this Society. Γένη μὲν (every γένος or kinred conſiſting of thirty, whence they were named τριακάδες) ἐ τριάκοντες, ἐν δὲ συνόδῳ ἦσαν φρατροφράμονες. Not of affinity ſo called, but for their Synod, which the Grammarians call σύνημα κοινωνικὸν a Communicative familiarity, κοινωνία, being a participating in one thing, or having an equal ſhare in the ſame Priviledges. Great was their care of each other, great was their mutual love, which that it might continue, *Solon* their Law-giver ordained certain Feaſts to be provided, wherein they ſhould kindly entertain each other. δεῖπνα φυλητικὰ and φρατρικὰ *b Athenæus.* Τῶν δὲ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις ἑορτῶν τοὺς μὲν νομοθέτας τὰ τε φυλετικὰ δεῖπνα καὶ τὰ δημοτικὰ προσέταξαν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς θιάσοις καὶ τὰ φρατρικὰ &c. of Feaſts celebrated at this day the Law makers have appointed *Phyletica*, for Tribes, *Demotica* for the people or popular. Moreover *Thiaſos* for Colledges (as Philoſophers for the death of their Grand Maſters) and *Phratrica* for the ſame Ward. Hence ἑστιάζειν τοὺς φύλαρχους, and ἑστιάζειν τοὺς φράτορας. Of which in due time. The reaſon of this the *Dipnoſophiſt* gives, ſaying, That Wine hath ἐκκλησιαστικὴν τινὰ φιλοφροσύνην, an attractive and perſwading force to procure love and friendſhip.

d In Solone p. 65. l. 33.

a Illiad. β. pag. 1181. & Il. ι p. 629.

b Lib. 3. c 5.

c Dipnoſoph. l. 5. p. 185. d.

CAP.

CAP. VI.

Græcia vicatim habitata. Δῆμος quid? Athenienſibus propriam habere δήμους. Quot? Templa & ſacra paganim.

ALL *Greece* was inhabited κατὰ κώμας, as *Thucydides* ſpeaks, by Villages, before there were any Towns; from whence comes the word Comœdy. *d At verò nondum conclis in urbem Athenienſibus; cum Apollini Nomio, id eſt, Paſtorum vicinorumque præſidi Deo, conſtructis aris in honorem divinæ rei circum Attica vicos, villas, & compita feſtum carmen ſolemniter cantarent: orta eſt Comœdia ἀπὸ τῦ κωμάζειν ἢ ᾄδειν, quod eſt, commeſſatum ire cantantes.* The *Athenians* being as yet not gathered into Corporations, when they ſung ſacred hymns to *Apollo Nomius*, that is, the Preſident to the *Shepheards* and *Neighbours*, about the Villages, Houſes, and croſs ways of *Attica*, Altars being built in honour of the celebrity, ſprung up a Comœdy, ἀπὸ τῦ κωμάζειν ἢ ᾄδειν, from revelling and ſinging. Others will have it derived from an ancient cuſtome they had, when any were injured among them, for the party wronged to come to the ſtreet where the offender lived, and in the Night time to cry aloud, ὁ δεῖνα ἀδικεῖ, ἢ τὰ δεῖνα ἐργάζεται, θεῶν ὄντων, ἢ νόμων. *Such a one doth wrong, and commits ſuch and ſuch Outrages, although there be Gods and Laws*, by which theſe abuſes were reformed. But the *Anonymus*, in a Preface to *Ariſtophanes*, ſays, μὴ κώμας καλεῖσθαι παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλὰ δήμους, that they were not called κώμαι, or Villages by the *Athenians*, but δήμοι, which they tranſlate *Populus*, better in my mind, *oppida*, or Towns. *Cicero ad Attiçum. Venio ad Piræea in quo magis reprehendendus ſum, quod homo Romanus Piræea ſcripſerim non Piraeum (ſic enim omnes noſtri loquuntur) quàm quod Maddiderim. Non enim hoc me oppido præpoſui, ſed ut de loco: & tamen Dionyſius noſter, qui eſt nobiſcum, & Niciæ Cons, non rebatur oppidum eſſe Piræea, ſed loco videro. Noſtrum quidem ſi eſt peccatum, in eo eſt, quod non ut de oppido locutus ſum, ſed ut de loco ſecutuſque ſum non dico Cæcilium, Atticum ut ex parte in Piræeum [illegible] lus*

c Lib. 1.

d Donat. in Præf in Ter.

e Thomas Magiſter.

f Lib. 7. Ep. 3.

hæc enim auctor Latinitatis est) sed Terentium cujus fabellæ propter elegantiam sermonis putabantur à Caio Lælio scribi. Hetialiquot adolescentuli coimus in Piræeum, & idem, Mercator hoc addebat captum de Sunio. *Quod si δήμους oppida volumus esse; tam est oppidum* Sunium *quàm* Piræeus. If so be we will have δήμους to be Towns, *Sunium* as well as *Piræeus* is a Town. These were formerly Kingdoms, as *c Pausanias* testifies. Γέγραπται δὲ δὴ καὶ, ὡς ἐν τοῖς δήμοις τισὶν ἦσαν πόλεις, αἷς πρὸ τῆς ἐπὶ Κέκροπος ἐβασίλευόν τινες. Moreover, I have written, that some of the Towns were governed by a King before the raign of *Cecrops*. And no marvel, for some of them far surpassed other Cities, as *Aristides* affirmeth. These were most peculiar to the *Athenians*, anciently called ναυκράρειοι, as *e Aristoph. Schol.* or Ναυκράριοι, as *f Pollux*, twelve belonging to every Tribe. But *Clisthenes* changed them into δήμους as out of *Aristotle* the *Schol.* of *Aristoph.* The number of them is, *g Eustathius* out of *Strabo* and *h Casaubon*, an hundred seventy four. Some whereof having the same name are distinguished according to their situations, ὑπερδύοις and ὑπόγειοις, as we may say the upper and lower *Wakefield*, *&c.* All of them are divided into Greater and Lesser. The μικροὶ or less are these, *Alimusii*, *Zoster*, *Prospaltii*, *Anagyrasii*, *Cephale*, *Prasiei*, *Lampreis*, *Phlyeis*, *Myrrinusii*, *Athemonenis*, *Acharnæ*, *Marathon*, *Braurom*, *Rhamnus*. The rest were greater. Take them promiscuous according to their Tribes.

c Articis p. 30. l. 42.

d In Panath. T. 1. p. 326.

e Nub. pag. 225. c.

f L. 8. p. 430.

g In 11. b. p. 215.

h In Athenæum l. 6. c. 9.

i Pausan. Att. pag. 30.

Κ ΚΡΟΠΙΣ.

Αἰξωνὶς, Δαιδαλίδαι, Ἐπικίδαι, Ζωστὴρ, Πίθος, Συπαλήττιος, Τριτεμεῖς, Ἀθμονὶς ἢ Ἀθμονία, Ἀλαὶ, Αἰξωνίδαι, Φλυᾶ, *Æxone*, *Dædalidæ*, *Epiceidæ*, *Xypete*, *Pithus*, *Sypalettus*, *Trinemei*, *Athmonon* or *Athmonia*, *Ale*, *Æxonides*. *Phlya*.

ΕΡΕΧΘΗΙΣ.

Ἀγρυλὴ ἢ Ἀγρύλη, Εὐωνυμέα ἢ Εὐώνυμος, Θήμακες ἢ Θημακός, Κυδαθήναιον, Λαμπτρεῖς κατωτέρω, Λαμπτρεῖς ἀνώτερον, ἢ Παιανιεύς, Παμβωτάδαι, Πτελεᾶς, Συβερίδαι, Φηγοῦς, Ἀναγυράσιος, *Agraule* or *Agrule*, *Eunomia* or *Eunomus*, *Themaci* or *Themacus*, *Cephisi*, The upper *Lampra*, The lower *Lampra*, in which *Sigonius*

vinc tertes, calling one the maritimate, the other the inferior, which to be one and the same I have shewed above, *Pambotadæ, Pergasæ, Sybridæ. Phegus, Anagyrus.*

Παραλίας.

Ἀγγελή, Κυδαθηναῖον, Κύθηρον, Ὠα ἢ Ὠαῖς, Παιανιὰ κατωτέρω, Παιανιὰ ὑπερθεν, Προβάλινθος. Στειριὰ, Φηγαία Μυρρινοῦς. *Angele, Cydathenæum, Cytherum, Oa* or *Oeis*, the upper *Paania*, the under *Paania, Probalinthus, Stiria*, Phegæa, *Myrrhinus.*

Αἰγιλίας.

Ἀλαὶ, Ἀραφηνίδης, Ἀχίλλω, Βατὴ, ἀραδηνὸς, Διομεία, Ἐρεχθία, Ἐρικία, Ἐχελία, Ἰκαρία ἢ Ἰκαρίας, Κολυττὸς, Κυδαντίδαι, Πλωθεὰ, Τίθρας, Φηγαία, φιλαίδαι, Χολλίδαι, *Alæ, Araphenides, Araphen., Bate, Gradettus, Diomea, Erecthia, Ericria, Echria, Icaria* or *Icarius, Ionidæ. Colyttus, Cydantidæ, Plothea, Tithras.* Phegæa, *Philedæ Chollidæ.*

Ἀναφλυστίας.

Ἀγνοῦς, Ἐλειησίδαι, Ἑρμὸς ἢ Ἑρμαὶ, Ἡραιτίδαι, Οὐρικός, Ἰτέα, Κίκυννα, Σφηττὸς, Χολαργός, Χόλαργοι, Χολαργία, Κεφαλὴ, Προσφάλτα, *Agnus, Eriſidæ, Hermus* or *Hermi, Hephæſtiadæ, Thoricus, Itea, Cicyna, Sphettus, Cholargus, Cholargi, Cholargia, Cephale, Proſpalta.*

Δεκελείας.

Αἰθαλίδαι, Αἰθαλία, Ἀείδρα, Δεκέλεια, Ἐρύλη, Εὐπυρίδαι, Κηφισιὰ, Κρωπία, Λάκκιον, Οἶον, Κίεφαλ. Παιονίδαι, Πύλαιχος, ποτομὸς, Σκαμβωνίδαι, Σύνιον, Ὕβα, Ὑβάδαι, Φρεάρροι, Μαραθὼν, Ἀλιμοῦς, *Æthalidæ, Æthalia, Aphidna, Dirades, Hecale, Sypyradæ, Cetti, Crapia, Leuconium, Oeum, Ceramicum, Paonidæ, Pelaces, Potamus, Scambonidæ, Sunium, Hyba, Hybadæ, Phrearrii, Marathon, Alimus.*

Ἰκαδιέων.

Ἀζηνία Ἀμαξαντία, Ἀραφία, Ἀχερδοῦς, Δεκέλεια, Ἐλαιεὺς, Ἐλαιοῦς, Ἐλεύσις, Ἐρικίδαι, Θυμοιτάδαι, Κεφαλίδαι, Κηφισσιὰς, Οἶον Δεκελικὸν, Οἰνόη Ἐλευθ. Σφενδάλη. *Azenia, Amaxantea, Anacæa, Achardus, Decelia, Elæus, Eleuſis, Arcadæ, Thymœtadæ, Cephiſiadæ. Corydallus, Oeum Decelicum, Oeum ad Eleutheras, Sphendale.*

Αντιο-

Αντιοχὶς.

Αἰγηὶς ἢ Αἰγιλία, Αλωπικὴ, Αλωπεκὴ, Ἀμφιτροπὴ, Ἀναφλύστιος, Ἀτηνὴ ἢ Ἀτηνία, Βησὰ, Θορὰ, Κριὰ, Λευκόπυρα, Μελαινὶς ἢ Μέλαινα, Παλληνὶς, Πεντελὴ, Σαμαχίδαι, Φάληρον, *Ægilia* or *Ægilus*, *Alopoce* or *Alopeca*. *Amphitrope*, *Anaphlystus*, *Atene* or *Atenia*, *Bessa*, *Thore*, *Crioa*, *Leucopyra*, *Melanesis* or *Melæna*, *Pallene*, *Pentele*, *Samachidæ*, *Phalerum*.

Αἰαντὶς.

Οἰνὸν Μέγαθ, Τετακίδαι, Τειθρόθ, Ραμνῦς, *Oenoe* at *Marathon*. *Titacidæ*, *Tricorithus Rhamnus* Of this tribe were some towns taken away & put to other, *Aphidna*, *Perside*, &c.

Οἰνὶς.

Βάτεια, Βατεάδαι, Ἐπικηφισία, Θρία ἢ Θρεία, Ἱπποτομάδαι, Λακία, Λακιάδαι, Λυσία, Μελίτη, Οἳ ἢ Οἴη, Περιθοίδαι, Πτελέα, Φυλὴ, Ἀχαρνὰ, Τυρμίδαι. *Buteæ*, *Butadæ*, *Epicephisia*, *Thria* or *Thrie*, *Hyppotomadæ*, *Lacia*, *Laciadæ*, *Lusia*, *Melite*, *Oë* or *Oga*, *Perithœdæ*, *Ptelea*, *Phyle*, *Acharna*, *Tyrmidæ*.

Πτολεμαὶς.

Βερενικίδαι, Θυργωνίδαι. *Berenicidæ*, *Thyrgonidæ*. Κορθύλη, *Corthyle*.

Ἀτταλὶς.

Ἀπολλωνιεῖς, *Apollonienses*. These are all, which Authors make mention of, according to their Tribes, others there are which I know not how to distribute, none of the ancients either directing or furnishing me. But these are they. *Agra*, *Anchesmus*, *Amphiadæ*, *Archilea*, *Astypalea*, *Atalanta*, *Achardus*, *Belbina*, *Brauron*, *Brilessus*, *Enna*, *Echelidæ*, *Zoster*, *Trion*, *Cale*, *Ceda*, *Cothocidæ*, *Cocle*, *Cynosarges*, *Ceramicus* without the City, the same with *Academia*, *Laurium*, *Lenæum*, *Limnæ*, *Munichia*, *Parnes*, *Pnyx*, *Patroclus* his ditch or trench. *Scirum*, *Sporgilus*, *Hydrussa*, *Hymettus*, *Hysia*, *Phaunæ*, *Phormisii*, *Phrittis*, *Pharon*, *Chitone*, *Oropus*. To which are put the Iland called *Pharmacussa*, two in number, and *Psyttalia*. The Scholiast of *Aristophanes* speaks as if *Ioa* were a *Demus*, but I say not with him. The greatest use we have of these among Authors, is in their form of Law, matters of contracts, and the like, that there might be no fraud

In Ranis p. 235.

r deceit, that none either unjustly be taxed for any thing, or cast another. Hence read we of such punctual clauses in their Wills: N. the son of N. dwelling at *Alopece* ἐκ Κολωνοῦ, ἐκ Μελίτης, ἐκ Κηφισίας. of *Colus*, of *Melite*, of *Ceramicus*. In these villages were Temples of the Gods. b *Livie. Templa pagatim sacrata.* And again, *Delubra sibi fuisse, quæ quondam pagatim habitantes in patrio illo castellis vicisque consecrata, ut in unam quidem urbem contributi majores sui deserta reliquerunt.* So much witnesseth c *Pausanias*, who tells us, that they worshipped some peculiar Deity, and yet nevertheless did τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ μάλιστα τιμᾷ. honour *Minerva*. Some of them had peculiar Festivals, as *Brauron* the solemnities of *Brauronia*, to *Diana Diomea*, to *Jupiter Diomæus, Chitonia, &c.*

b Dec. 4. l. 1. c. 12. 18.

c In Atticis d. l. 40.

CAP. VIII.

Τυραννὶς. Ὀλιγαρχία. Δημοκρατία. *Athenienſium ſtatus mutatio.* Ἱερὰ Σωτήρων Μέγας. Δίκη.

THe ancients had but three sorts of government *Tyrannis, Democratia, Oligarchia*, as d *Æschines*, which *Polybius* calls βασιλείαν, ἐξουσιαστείαν, δυναστείαν where although the one names it a *Tyrannis* or Tyranny, the other βασιλέα, the rule of a King, yet must we understand the same. For in old time all Kings were called Tyrants, as *Servius* in *Virgil* hath observed. A word taken up by the *Greeians* about the time of *Archilochus*, which neither *Homer* nor *Hesiod* knew, and therefore are the Poets noted, as, ὅτι τυράννους, for calling the Kings, or βασιλέας before the Trojan Wars, Tyrants or *Tyrannos*. βασιλεία or a Kingdome, is where obeysance is free, yielded rather out of good advice, than for fear or might. Ἀριστοκρατία *Aristocratia*, when most wise and just men are ofttimes chosen to sit at the Helm of the Weal publick. Δημοκρατία a Democratie, when the Laws and customes of the Countrey in matters both belonging to Gods and men are truly observed, and that rules the rost, which shall be approved of by the greater part, τὸ δόξαν τοῖς πλείοσι

d In Cresiphontem, p. 4.

ſaies *Polybius*, as that may be ſaid at a banquet to pleaſe all, which doth reliſh well with the moſt. But the grave hiſtorian hath obſerved changes in ſuch government, as they uſe to be inclining to the worſt, Monarchies being turned into Tyrannies, as when the people are led away by the perſwaſions of ſome pleaſing a popular man, and are as it were, willingly conſtrained to take the yoke that his uſurping authority ſhall lay on them. A Tyrant indeed is ſaid, *b Vi conſecutus*, who gets it by violence, *c Omnes autem & habentur & dicuntur Tyranni, qui poteſtate ſunt perpetua in ea civitate, quæ libertate uſa eſt.* But all are accounted and called Tyrants, who have perpetuall authority in that City, which formerly hath enjoyed liberty. The deprivation of which cauſing murmuring and rebellion, brings forth an *Ariſtocratie*, or government of the beſt men, ſuch as are well brought up & exerciſed in vertue. The end of an *Ariſtocratie* being as *d Ariſtotle* hath it, *Virtue*, which is of no long continuance, doth ſoon degenerate, *εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν πεφυκυῖαν καὶ φύσει*, naturally inclining to an *Oligarchie*, or rule of few. Theſe few being choſen according to their riches. And becauſe that many in a State cannot be wealthy, therefore the number of them cannot be great. Theſe are great Lords, and little Kings, whoſe power ſwaies all, and not the Laws, who unjuſtly favour thoſe that are partially theirs, and oppreſſe them that would defend their liberty againſt them. All things being adminiſtred *f ὑπὸ τῶν δυναστῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς δυνασταῖς*, by their preſidents. Such dominion is taken away by the people ſet on rage, not bearing *τὰς τῶν δυναστῶν ὕβρεις*, the injuries of their Rulers. Hence comes in a *Demeeratie*, which *Sophocles* calls *ἐπὶ πολὺ πλῆθος ἀρχὴ*, the power of a multitude, whoſe end is freedome, when all can equally partake of the ſame priviledges and immunities, who are true Citizens: whence *Terence* ſtiles it *æquam libertatem*; for which the *Greek Orators* have properly uſed the word *ἰσονομία*, as *g Ulpian* obſerveth. But the vulgar for the moſt part ſtrangely inſolent, prone to wrong, and ready to riſe, paſs againſt the Laws, bring in by a miſerable proceeding, the worſt kind of government an *Ochlocratie*, the Rule of Raſcallitie,

a Ariſtot. l. pol. l. 5. c. 4.
b Probus in Miltiade.
c Probus ib. pag. 17.
d Pol. l. 4. c. 9.
e Pol. l. 4. c. 9.
f Æſchines in Ctef.
g In Demoſt. pag. 59.

tie. All theſe in their times did *Athens* feel, for they were governed by Kings four hundred eighty ſeven years: the laſt of which was *Codrus*, who in a fight between the *Dorienſes* and *Athenians* offered himſelf willingly to be ſlain, it being foretold by the Oracle of *Apollo* that the *Dorienſes* ſhould be conquerours unleſſe the *Athenian* King were killed; he therefore cloathing himſelf *famulari veſte ne poſſet agnoſci*, ſaies *a Cicero*, with a ſervants habit leſt he ſhould be known, put himſelf among the enemies, by one of which in a brawl he was murdered. After whom none enjoyed the name of King, *b quod memoriæ nominis ejus tributum eſt*, which was done in memory to his name. For after that, *Archontes* or *Judges* ruled; in Title ἄρχοντες, *Archontes*, but in power Kings, whoſe authority was for tearm of life. Theſe continued three hundred and fifteen years. Theſe being ended, it pleaſed the State to chooſe a man, whoſe office ſhould continue but ten years; ſeaven ſucceeded each other, and made up the number of ſeaventy years; who, becauſe they abuſed their power, were made but for one year, called therefore *c annui Magiſtratus*, yearly Magiſtrates. Theſe continued until *Piſiſtratus* for a feigned fear of the Seditious, begged a guard of the people for his ſafety; For when the Faction ſprung up, of which I have ſpoken in the fourth Chapter, he cutting himſelf with laſhes, and the Mules which drew his Chariot, went into the place of meeting, ἀγορὰν, and beſeeching the people to afford him ſome defence againſt their violence, who did (but did not) aſſault him, procured a company of choſen Citizens, who armed with clubs, not weapons, poſſeſſed the Caſtle, and ſo Tyranny came in; which *Piſiſtratus* enjoyed *d* thirty years, and deceaſed, leaving behind him two ſons, *Hipparchus*, and *Hippias*, whom *Heraclides* calls *Theſſalus*. *Hipparchus* was ſlain by *Ariſtogiton*, after whoſe death the *Athenians* lived under a tyranny four years, from which they were delivered by the help of the *Lacedæmonians*, the offspring of *Alcmæon* corrupting the Oracle, to the end that whenſoever they came for counſel he ſhould wiſh them to free

a Tuſc. Q. l. 11.

b Juſtin. l. 2.

c Juſtin. l. 2.

d Heraclides in Pol.

e Herodotus l. 5. p. 135.

from the *Athenians* of that servitude. The *Democratie* came in eight hundred sixty eight years after *Cecrops*, established by *Solon*, who excluded the fifth rank of plebeity from office or honour by a law, afterwards abrogated by *Aristides*. After this *Pericles* brought in an *Ochlocratie* by weakning the power of the *Areopagites*. Then after the overthrow in *Sicily*, the Τετρακόσιοι or four hundred took upon them state, deceiving the people, as *f Aristotle* and *Thucidides* affirm. For perswading them that they should reconcile *Tissaphernes* and *Alcibiades* unto themselves by that means, and that the Persian Monarch would afford supply for the War, they most willingly condescended to this motion in the one and twentieth year of the *Peloponnesian* War. These Princes were called *a* πεντακισχίλιοι, τετρακόσιοι ἦσαν, Five thousand, though not exceeding four hundred. The reason is, because they boasted that none should be rewarded, but who bare arms; nor any admitted to publick power but five thousand, such as with person and estate could be beneficial to the Republique. Their authority was granted by an *b* Act of the *people*, to which *Theramenes* was very forward, but after they were inducted, none more ready to drive them out; whereupon they termed him Κόθορνον *Cothurnum*, from a kind of start up which did fit both feet, ᾧ γὰρ κόθορνος ἁρμόττειν ἀμφὶ τὼ ποδὶν ἀμφοτέροις δοκεῖ. The word may sute with a Jack of both sides. These Τετρακόσιοι were constrained, for fear of *d Alcibiades* to resign the right unto the people, and to go into wilful baniſhment. But when *Lysander* had overcome *Athens* (the *e Lacedamonians* ever affecting an *Oligarchie*, as the *Athenians a Democratie*) he ordained these thirty to be cheif. f *Polyarches*, *Critias*, *Melobius*, *Hippolochus*, *Euclides*, *Hiero*, *Mneſilochus*, *Chremo*, *Theramenes*, *Areſias*, *Diocles*, *Phædrias*, *Charileos*, *Anatius*, *Piſo*, *Sophocles*, *Eratoſthenes*, *Charicles*, *Onomocles*, *Theognis*, *Æſchines*, *Theogenes*, *Cleomedes*, *Eraſiſtratus*, *Phido*, *Dracontides*, *Eumathes*, *Ariſtoteles*, *Hippomachus*, *Mneſitheides*. These began at first to put to death the worst and most abhorred, saies *g Saluſt*, without trial of law, but afterwards the good and bad alike; *h* some for envy, o-

f Pol. c. 5.

g Lib. 8.

a Plat. in Alcib. g. 148.

b Xen. Ελλ. β. 274. l. 38.

c Xen. p. 275.

d Justin l. 5.

e Arist. Pol. l. 5. c. 7.

f Xen. Ελλ. 6. p. 270.

g In Catil. Conſp.

h Xen. p. 272.

there

thers for riches. These to make their party firm, chose a bout three thousand, to whom alone they permitted to have weapons, disarming all the rest, to the end they might easily command their lives. But by their lawes (for they made some, stiled ἰ νεωτὶ νόμοι, which were nullified by a decree, (as we shall speak hereafter) none was to suffer ἀτιμίαν, who was Registred in the List of the three thousand. So cruel were they, that the people fled into ἔ *Phyle* a Castle in the *Athenians* borders, and making a head under the conduct of *Thrasybulus*, at last shook off this yoke, and remained free untill the death of *Alexander*, even fourscore years, whom *Antipater* succeeded; who in Battle at the City *Lamia* gave the *Athenians* an overthrow; and gave them quarters on these tearms, that they should submit to a few *Peers*, whose Revenues amounted to two thousand *Drachmes* at least, the chief of whom was *Demetrius Phalareus*; that they should likewise receive a garrison into *Munychia* for the aswaging of riots and uproars. But four years after, *Antipater* dying, the City fell into the power of *Cassander*, of whom they often strove to acquaint themselves. But in vain. For he brought them to such an exigency, that they were glad to come to composition. And indeed he dealt fairly with them, giving them their City, Territories, Tributes, and all other things, so that they would be confederates to him, that none, whose Revenues come not to ten *mina* or pounds, should undergoe any function in the Common-weale; and he should be their Overseer whom he would be pleased to nominate. The man appointed was *Demetrius Phalereus*, a who made the City to shine in her full lustre, insomuch that they erected in honour of him three hundred Statues. He wrot a Treatise of the *Athenian Republique*, which had not time devoured, would have given no small light to my poor endeavours. After he in trouble and vexation had spent fourteen years, he was put out by *Demetrius* the sonne of *Antigonus*, surnamed *Poliorcetes*, who restored the ancient Customes to them again. To him they ascribed such worship, as also to his Father, that they changed the name of their Iudge from *Archon*

i Xen p. 273.

ἔ Dem. p. 467.

a Vide Laert. in vita, & Strabonem.

b Plut. in Demetrio.

chon inne *b* Σωτῆρος Ἱερέως, The Priest of the Gods that saved them, calling the year after his name, and adding *c* two Tribes to the Tenne, whence the Senate consisted of six hundred, but five before, as *c Stephanus*. But when *Cassander* had overthrown the Sonne and Father, such was the ingratitude and levitie of the *Athenians*, that they forbad *Demetrius* to approach near their City. After this *Lacharis* plaid the Tyrant, and was expelled by *Demetrius*; whom they utterly cast off, assuming again the title of *Archon*. *Demetrius* dying *Antigonus Gonatas* succeeded, who in the nineteenth year of his reign put in presidiary souldiers to the City, which tenne years after hee took out. The *Macedonians* still kept some of the *Athenian* forces in this space. *Demetrius Antigoni Gon. F.* & *Antigonus Doson*, out of whose hands *d Aratus* the *Sicyonian* rescued the City, and made it stand by it self untill *Philip*, the last King of the *Macedonian Monarchy* except one, did somewhat shake it, as you may read in *e Livie*. But he was expelled by the Romans, who took the *Athenians* into league, with a maintaining of their ancient right. So they remained until the Warre between *Mithridates* and the *Romans*. For by fear they were driven to receive *f Archelaum*, *Mithridates* his General, within their walls; against which *Sylla* laid siege, and captivated the City, whence proceeded ἀνηκέστου σφαγῆς, a mercilesse slaughter, sayes *Appian*, that the *g* streets did run with blood. But the Laws were not much altered by this Conquerour; and therefore they lived in a near resemblance of their former state, in favour with the *Roman* Emperours, *Julius Cæsar*, *Adrian*, *Antonius*, *Gallienus*; in whose successors time, *Claudius* the second of that name, the City was ransacked by the *Gothes*, who when they had heaped up innumerable compaines of Books to burn, were dehorted by this reason, *That the Greeks, spending their time in reading of them, might be made more unfit for War*. *Constantine* the *Great*, likewise had this City in high esteem, taking to himself the Title of Στεφανηφόρος Ἀθηνῶν, as *h Julian* says, which in the words of *c Nicephorus Gregoras* is

b Pollux. l. 8.

c In Berenice.

d Plut. in vita.

e Decad. p. l. 1.

f Vide Appian. num Alex. in Mithridatico circa p. 122. 133. &c.

g Plut. in vita p. 335.

a Cedrenus Baptist. *C* Egnatius Rampin. l. 1.

h In Oratione ad Constantin.

c Hist Rom. l. 7. p. 166.

τὸν τῦ μεγάλε δεκὸς (ὄνομα) the *Grand Duke*, whom simply afterwards they called the *d Duke of Athens*, in that Historians time. Emperours have taken them wives, Citizens of this place, and the *e* daughters of their *Dukes* have been desired by that eminent rank. And indeed no marvel; For they were potent. *Rainerius Acciajolus*, is said to have taken the City from the *Spaniards* that inhabit *Arragon*, ὃς καὶ ὃ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων οἱ Ἕλληνες, who having no issue male of his wife *Euboia*, but an illegitimate named *Antonius*, by another woman, bequeathed by will *Bœotia* and *Thebes* to him, but *Athens* to the * *Venetians*, from whom his Son recovered it again. *Nerius* succeeded him in the *Dukedome*, who thrust out *Chalcocondylas* his Father. After him came in *Antonius Nerius* brother to the former *Nerius*. Now about this time we must know that *Mahomet* the sonne of *Amurat* the second, got *Athens*, *g* whose beauty and building he held in admiration; which when he had made his own, he continued the Title. For another *Nerius*, from those above named dying, leaving one sonne an Infant, his Mother in the childs Title exercised Tyranny. This woman loved a *Venetian* Noble man (sonne to *Petrus Palmerius*, to whose government the City *Nauplium* was committed, he is called by *Chalcocondylas Primus*) who came thither for Merchandize. Him, by discourse and flattery, she entised into her love, promising that she would take him to her husband, and give up the Princedome of *Athens* to him. But upon condition, that he would divorce his own wife. Whereupon the young man going to *Venice* slew his wife, swelling with ambition, and thirsty of honour. Which being done, he returns to *Athens*, Marries this woman, enjoys the government of the City; who being hated of the *Athenians*, and complained of at the Court, to avoid envy termed himself the *Childs* Tutor. And not long after taking the boy with him, went to the Court; where *Francus Acciajolus* waited, expecting to be promoted to the Dukedome. When the Emperour therefore understood the folly of the woman, he gave the title to him. Who being enstalled, imprisoned

d Hist. Rom. l. 7. p. 67.
e Nic. Greg. lib. citat.

f Chalcocon. καὶ τίνες ἀπὸ Ναβαρῆνς

* In the time of Pietro Zani come Ambassadors from Athens to do homage to the Venetian Senate. M. Leukenor in the history and lives of the Venetian Princes.

g Chalcocon. l. 9. p. 299.

priſoned the woman at *Megara*, and afterwards (by means not known to the *a* Author) ſlew her. This *Francus* in time was taken away from men by *Zogan* governour of *Peloponneſus*, *Mahomet* having intelligence that the *Athenians* would have delivered the City to the Prince of *Bœotia*. He was the laſt Duke.

a Chalcocon. pag. 300.

LIBER SECUNDUS.

CAP. I.

Duodecim Dii Athenienſium, Idolatria ſeptifariam commiſſa, Dii Adſcriptitii. Θεῶν γένος.

a Pag. 48.

b In Tractatu περὶ Ἡροδότου κακοηθείας. p. 669.

c Sch. Eurip. in Alceſt. p. 661.

d Ξυναγ' ἴσος. Θρησκεύειν, in Steſ. 1.

e Pag. 260.

f Pag. 281.

HErodotus in a Therpſichore is of opinion, that the Greeks derived their Religion from the *Ægyptians*. But b *Plutarch* doth ſtoutly deny it. And not without good teſtimony may I affirm that it ſeems to be a falſitie, For *Orpheus* is thought to have brought the Myſteries of Piety into *Greece*; who was himſelf a *Thracian*, from whom the word θρησκεία is ſuppoſed to be drawn, which ſignifies devotion. c Τέτο ἦν τὸ παλαι θεὸς ἐκάλεσαν θρήσκειν, ὡς θεσμίας ἕσης τῆς εὑρέσεως, ſaies d *Nonnus*. They called Θρησκεύειν, to worſhip God, &c. Appoſitely to which e *Ariſtophanes* ἐν Βατραχοις.

Ορφεύς μὲν γὰρ τελετὰς ἡμῖν κατέδειξε, φόνων τ' ἀπέχεσθαι,

Orpheus ſhewed us Sacrifices, and to abſtain from ſlaughters.

Neither is f *Euripides* diſagreeing in *Rheſo*.

Μυστήρια τε τῆς ἀπορρήτων θεᾶς

Ἔδειξεν Ὀρφεύς — *Orpheus revealed the hidden myſteries.*

Herodotus names not the Gods, the worſhip of whom the *Greeks* might borrow from the *Ægyptians*; Twelve in number they were, quoth he, but theſe only are reckoned, *Jupiter. Bacchus. Hercules. Apollo. Mars. Pan. Diana. Iſis* or *Ceres*.

Ceres. Sais or *Minerva. Latona.* As I have gathered, which all at once have been made known to the *Greeks*, and that by the *Ægyptians* is too hard a task for mee to prove. The *Athenians* I am sure had twelve Gods in especiall honour, whose pictures they had drawn out in a Gallery in *Ceramicus*; and had an Altar erected, called *g* Βωμὸς τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν, on which a little before the *Sicilian* War, a man dismembred himself with a stone; which was accounted prodigious. By these twelve would they swear in common discourse. *h* Μὰ τοὺς δώδεκα θεούς. The Heathens thinking that they did honour those Gods, by whom they swear; as I have elsewhere spoken. But they were not confined to so small a number as twelve. For how could it be when they ran through the seaven sorts of Idolatry? First worshipping the Sun, and punishing with death the neglect thereof, as you may read in *i Plutarch* in the life of *Pericles*. Secondly, Deifying the effect of God, as bread, &c. For *Clemens Alexandrinus* interprets Δηὼ, *Ceres*, ἡ ὕλη corn, or food. Thirdly, the poetical Gods, *Furies and revengers of wickednes*, as *Alastores*, *Palamnæi*. Fourthly, the Passions, as *Love, Pittie, Injurie*, likewise and *Impudence*, to whom *Epimenides* built an Altar at *Athens*. Fifthly, the accidents of growth and nourishment, hence *Axo*, & *Thallo* two deities from, αὐξάνειν, to increase, & θάλλειν to flourish; to which may be put *Clotho, Lachesis*, and *Atropos* the three fatal sisters, and Ἐιμαρμένη, *Necessitie*, taken sometimes for death it self. Sixthly, the Theogony or pedegree of their gods, able to make up the sum of which *Homer* speaks, Τρὶς χίλιοι, &c. Three thousand. Seaventhly, an ignorance of the Providence and bounty of God toward them, fained *Hercules* the repeller of evil, and *Esculapius* the god of Physick. And if this serve not, I can add an eighth way, namely hospitality and good entertainment of strange gods. Ἀθηναῖοι δ' ἅτε περὶ τὰ ἄλλα φιλοξενώτατοι διατελοῦσι, καὶ περὶ τοὺς θεούς, saies *a Strabo*, as the *Athenians love forrainers, so forraine gods.* Οὐ μόνον τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους ἀεὶ θεοὺς, &c *b Aristides*. For they serve not only the most ancient Deities, in a peculiar manner above all their followers, but

g Paus. Attic. p. 3. l. 8.

h Plut. in Nicia. p. 387. l. 26.

i Aristoph. Eq. p. 300. A.

k Vide Bodinum in Demonologia.

a Pag. 471.

b In Panath. T. 1. p. 188.

c Strab. p. 587.

but have assumed adventitious ones; such as *Orthane*, *Semisulus*, and *Tychon*. So prone were they to conceive Superstition, that when *d Paul* preached *Jesus and the Resurrection of the dead*; they forthwith deemed *Anastasin*, or resurrection, to be a God. And lest they should omit any, they erected Altars to the unknown Gods, of which *e Pausanias*. Neither may we doubt of it, the Scriptures bearing witnesse. The cause of this they say to be a fearfull vision appearing to *Philippides*, sent Ambassador to the *Lacedæmonians* concerning aid against the *Persians*, and complaining that he (*f Pan*, from whom παντικὸν *spectrum*) was neglected, and other Gods worshipped; promising likewise his help, they therefore being victorious, and fearing the like event, built a Temple, and Altar TO THE UNKNOWN GOD. Another opinion is, that a Plague being at *Athens* hot, and the people finding no help from the Gods they implored, surmising some other power to have sent the Disease, wherupon they set up this Altar, on which was written ΘΕΟΙΣ Ἀσίας καὶ Εὐρώπης καὶ Λιβύης θεῷ Ἀγνώστῳ καὶ ξένῳ. TO THE GODS OF ASIA, EUROPE, AND AFRICA, TO THE UNKNOWN AND STRANGE GOD. As *Justin* g *Martyr* and *Oecumenius*. Much may be said of their Tutelar Gods, both for their Cities and Houses, much of their *Heroes* or Demigods. We will view them in order.

d Act. Apost. c. 17. v. 18.

e In Attic. p. 1. l. 35.

f Vid. Eurip. Sch in Med. p 482.

g Pag. 137.

CAP. II.

Jupiter Βασιλεύς, Νέμιος Ἱκέσιος, πολιεύχος, Βουλαῖος, φεύκτειος, φίλιος, Ὁμόγνιος, Καταβάτης, Ἕρκιος, Ἀγοραῖος, ξένιος, *Modii salis edendi*, *Tessera hospitalis seu Symbolum*, *Apollo* Σωτὴρ πύθιος, πατρῷος, Ἀλεξίκακος, Οὐλαῖος. *Paean*, *& ejusdem verbi origo*. *Mercurius*, παλιγκάπηλος. Ξένιος. Στροφαῖος. φερέσυλλαβος.

ABove other of their Gods *Jupiter* was had in high esteem. And that commanded by the Oracle. For when the *Athenians* were bidden so dissolve their Kingdomes, they were charged to make choice of *Jupiter*, *a* ἐκλέξασθαι καὶ ἔχειν Βασιλέα. And so by *b Aristophanes* he is called Ζεὺς Βασιλεύς.

a Sch. Aristoph. p. 122.

b In Nubibus.

Him

Him they worshipped as *President of Law and Justice*, under the name of *Jupiter* c *Nemius* (different from that *Corinth* named Νέμειος.) Him as *God of supplicants*, hence *d* Ἱκέσιος. Him as *Protector of Cities*, hence πολιοῦχος. Him as *Governour and director of their Councels*, hence Βουλαῖος. Him as *chief of their Societies*; hence φράτριος; and of their friendship too, hence εἰλαῖος; and of kindred likewise, hence ὁμόγνιος. To him they ascribed *Thunder*, hence *e* Ζεὺς Καταβάτης, as much as coming down in Thunder. To him they thanksully acknowledged their delivery from the *Persians*, wrought by *Themistocles*, hence *f* Ἐλευθέριος. Him they confessed the *greatest of all*, hence *g* ὕπατος. Him *the overseer of their buying and selling*, hence * Ἀγοραῖος. To him stood an Altar sacred in the *courts of their houses*, hence *Jupiter Herceus*, from Ἕρκος a wall, as if he were the watch and defender of the house. *Phavorinus* Ἕρκεῖος Διὸς βωμὸς ἔξω τῶν θυρῶν τοῦ αὐλοῦ, αἰδεῖος ἦν δοκῶν, ἐφ᾽ ᾗ ἐθύοντο τῷ Διὶ ἑρκείῳ τὰ ἕρκη. There was also an Altar to him before the gates, of which *h Ovid*--*Ante aedes stabat Jovis Hospitis ara*, hence *Jupiter Xenius*, as if he were the *God of strangers and hospitality*. So solemn were they in their entertainments, that they would not receive a stranger without great ceremonies, such as giving of the right hand each to other ἐπιχειρῶν σύμβολον ἀσφαλείας καὶ πίστεως ἀναντιῤῥήτου, a most certain sign of fidelity and security; as also washing & cleansing with salt, or salt water, as *k* Tzetzes on *Lycophron*; whence it is called ξενίσιος πάγος. Salt they highly esteemed of, ever upbrading violated hospitality with *l* τὸν ἅλας, &c. where is the salt? And yet it may be thought to be said of the community of the table πρὸς ἀλλήλων μὴ κακουργεῖν τοὺς ὁμοτραπέζους καὶ συνεστίους; customes shewing that fellow commoners, and such as feed of the same table, must not injure one another, to which the old saying may well agree, *n multos modios salis simul edendos esse, ut amicitiæ munus expletum sit*, Men must eat many bushels of salt together, before they can be perfect friends; meaning that friendship is not to be soon established. But I take salt, for the lustration, to

c Dem. in Mēd. p. 251.
d Vlpian. in Dem. p. 273.
Paus. p. 18. l. 40. *who thinks* Syllato *be eaten with lice by a judgment, that flewing to the Temple of* Minerva.
e Aristoph. Avid. p. 626. Plut. & Paus. Pausan.
* Aristoph. p. 317.
g Metamorph.
i Eustath. in Il. 3.
k Pag. 17. *But* Eustath. *sayes, that they did set salt before any strangers.*
l Demosth. p. 241.
m Tzetzes in Lycoph. p. 28.
n Cicide Amicitia. Eustath. *sdys, that it betokens love permanent For salt preserves, And as it is made of many lettings in of water, so they who came from divers places by hospitality are made one.* In ιλα p. 100.

to which they also added fire, as you may see in o Aristophanes. Neither was this all, for they sacrificed moreover, calling *Jupiter* to witness and using these words in the time of sacrifice. p Εἰς Δία Ξένιον ἁμάρτοιν, εἰ ἀτιμάζω ξένους. *Let my trespass be against Jupiter Xenius, if I offend, contemn, or neglect strangers.* And for the continuation of this, even to their posterity they were wont to cut a huckle bone in two, the one party keeping one piece, the other party the other half, that when occasion or necessity should make either of them stand in need of other, q ἐπαγόμενοι τὸ ἥμισυ ἀσφράγιστον, ἀναιδέστατα τῶν ξενίων, *bringing with them their half huckle bone they might renew their hospitality.* This they call σύμβολον, *Symbolum*, a token, which sometimes they would send to their acquaintance in others behalf, as *Jason* in *Euripides* offers to *Medea* to do πέμπειν τε ξένοις σύμβολ' οἳ δέξονται σ'ἐνί. And to send a *Symbolum* or token to strangers that shall courteously entertain you. But of this enough, as also of *Jupiter*, whom celebrated in a other Epithets I know by the *Athenians*. *Apollo* was next in request to *Jupiter*, invocated in *danger or sudden events*, hence b Ἀποτρόπαιος, from ἀποτρέπειν, to turn away, as if he should deliver them from eminent evil, for which reason he is called *Alexicacus*, c *Apollinem aspellentem mala intelligas, quem Athenienses* Ἀλεξίκακον *appellant.* He was one of the first Gods they had, hence he is learned d πατρῷος: but e others think because he was the father of *Ion*. I *Macrobius* is of opinion, because the *Sun*, the same with *Apollo*, is the Author of progenerating all things, *quòd sol humoribus exiccatis progenerandis omnibus præbuit causam.* To him stood Altars in their streets, hence he is ἀγυιεύς, as if he were set over their ways, g *Illi enim vias, quæ intra pomœria sunt* ἀγυιὰς. This Ἄγγελος was a sharp pillar. h κίων ἡ ὀξὺ τοῦ ἐς ὀξὺ λήγων. Although the *Greeks*, as i *Macrobius* says, did worship him as Θυραῖον, *exitus & introitus potentem*, one that kept the doors of their houses; yet I find no monument of that Title in *Pausanias*. Famous he was for the name of *Pæan*, of which, though I have taken occasion to speak elsewhere, yet this is a most proper place. I will not trouble you with the trivial deriva

o In Acharn. pag. 414. vide Sch.
p Eustath. in Il. λ.
q Eurip. Sch. pag. 446.

a As πολιάς Aristophan. ὄμβριος. Pausan. &c.
b Aristoph. πλ. l. 86.

c Macrob. Sat. 1. p. 253.
d Aristoph. Nub. p. 203.
e Arist. Sch. p. 611. g.
f Satur. 1. p. 257.
g Macrob. Sat. 1. c. 9.
h Schol. Eurip. Phæ. p. 322.
i Sat. 1. c. 9.

derivations of the *Greeks*, which you read in *k Athenæus*. When the *Athenians* asked help of the Oracle at *Delphos* againſt the *Amazons*, in the days of *Theſeus*; The God bid them implore his ſuccor in theſe words, Ἰὴ Παιάν! *Hanc vocem, id eſt,* Ἰὴ Παιάν, *confirmâſſe ferunt Oraculum Delphicum Athenienſibus, petentibus opem Dei adverſus Amazonas, Theſeo regnante. Namque inituros bellum juſſit his ipſis verbis ſemetipſum auxiliatorem invocari, hortariique.* I doubt not but the words are changed ſomewhat, eſpecially if we conſider the ancient *Jo Paean*. *Paean*, ſayes the *m Scholiaſt of Ariſtophanes* is a ſong or hymn praying for the ceaſing of a Plague, or war, nay, for the preventing of apparent hurt. The original of *Jo n Scaliger* hath already found; *Jao* & *Jo* being contracted by the *Greeks* for *Jehova*; *Paean*, then comes from פנה to look ſo that *Jo Paean* is in force *Jehovah Penoh*. LORD LOOK UPON US, it being a craft of the Devil to come as near as poſſible he may to God, ſo to bereave him of his dear honour, if he could. The remnants of theſe words the *o Symerons* a people of the Weſt Indies uſe, who in their fighting dance, and leap, and ſing *Jo Peho*: at this day *Mercury* is hallowed by the name of *p* Ἀγοραῖος or *q* Ἐμπολαῖος, deemed to be the God, whoſe favour could enrich Merchants and Tradeſmen. He is the God of craft, ſo by conſequence he that is cunning to cheat may ſoon grow Rich. Wherefore this God is termed Ἐμπόριος, *very profitable*, from ἐν, an augmenting word, and ὀνῶ, to profit. He had a Statue erected to him in the Market place, called *a* Ἑρμῆς Ἀγοραῖος. The entry of their houſes was ſacred to him, from which he is named *b* Προπύλαιος, as likewiſe Στροφαῖος from στρέφειν, to turn, becauſe he was ſet up behind the door to keep away theeves, that were wont to lurk thereabout, and then afterward commit their villany. More of his names you may read in *c Ariſtoph. Schol.*

k In fin. lib. 14. Dip.

l Macrob. Sat. l. 1. c. 17. p. 253.

m In Plut. pag. 68.

n Græc. Trag.

o Vide Sir Fr. Drake.

p Ariſtoph. pag. 110. Arch. bag. 410.

q Ariſtoph. βατρ. p. 266.

a Ariſtoph. p. 304.

b Paul. p. 20. l. 35.

c Pag. 100.

CAP.

CAP. III.

De Saturno, Vulcano, Neptuno, Marte, Hercule: ἄνακτες.

Saturn was worshipped by the *Athenians*, witness the feasts kept in honour to him, called Κρόνια; witness a *Temple* d which he had in *Athens*. Of his antiquity I cannot much affirm any thing. He seems to have been of old, as I conjecture out of e Κρονικὰ γηράματα, *Saturnia anima*, put for dotage proverbially. *Vulcan* likewise had his honour there, and a Temple, of which f *Demosthenes*: where was one of the *Athenian* prisons; some controversies in law in it decided, as I gather out of g *Demosthenes*. *Neptune* was an ancient Patron of this City, which he loved even to strife. He was feared for security in Navigation, hence h Ἀσφάλειος. i *Mars* also had his Worship, and Temple, and *Hercules* too, who in a Dream appeared to *Sophocles*, revealing unto him the Sacriledge of one who had stollen a golden Cup out of his Temple: called therefore Μυυτὴς or *Index Hercules*, as k *Tully*. Neither were they contented with such a quantity, but canonizing more daily, as the Sons of *Tyndarus*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, naming them ἄνακτες. l ἀνακὰς γὰρ ἔχειν τοὺς ἐπιμελουμένους ἢ φυλάττοντας ὁπωσοῦν, καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἴσως ἄνακτας, διὰ τοῦτο καλεῖσθαι. For they who have a care and watch of any thing do diligently observe it, ἀνακὰς ἔχειν. For which Kings perhaps are called ἄνακτες, as keepers of their people. m The Scholiast of *Euripides* teaches us that ἄναξ properly signifieth a Saviour. So *Pan* is said to be Ἄναξ Κυλλήνης, *the tutelar God of Cyllene*. And *Apollo* in n *Homer* χρυσοκόμης ἑκὰς ἀνάσσων. The word is simply but for God in o *Aristophanes*, ῥ τοῦ ἕνεκ' Διὸς Ἄνακτος καὶ Σωτῆρος καλοῦμαι. To these may be put *Harmonius* and *Aristogiton*. *Lycus*. *Theseus*. *Alon*. *Hesychius*. *Aristomachus* the Physitian. *Celeus* and *Metanira*. And many more (of whom see q *Meursius*) made of Men, as *Silanion* and *Perrasius* that made the Statue of r *Theseus*.

d Paus. p. 16. l. 32.

e Aristoph. πλ. pag. 61.

f p. 536. n. 26.

g παραγρ. περὶ Ἀπατ.

h Aristoph. p. 403.

i Paus. p. 7. l. 27.

k De divinatione, l. 1.

l Plut. Thes. p. 11. l. 25.

m In Hippol. p. 500.

n Iliad. α.

o In Avid. p. 578.

p Eurip. Sch. p. 537.

q In Athen. Att. l. 3. c. 1. & 7.

r Plut. in Th. p. 2. l. 14.

CAP. IV.

De Minerva, Cerere & Proſerpina, Baccho, Venere, Eumenidibus, Hecate, Junone, Prometheo, &c.

Minerva the eſpecial Deity of the *Athenians*, had the Feſtivals called *Panathenæa*, of which you may fully read in *Meurſius*. Next to her, *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*, whoſe rites *longè maximis & occulteſſimis ceremoniis continentur*, *a* ſaies *Cicero*, were greateſt, and moſt hidden: therefore called *myſteria* from *b* μυέω, to hide; *c* death and a curſe lying on him who ſhould diſcloſe thoſe abominable ſecrets. See *Meurſius* in his *d Eleuſinia*, of the initiation in theſe ſtews. They were of two ſorts. *e* Greater to *Ceres*, leſs to *Proſerpina*. *Bacchus* alſo the ſon of *Ceres* had his Temple allotted and a double Tide holy to him: *Dionyſia* f *parva*, and g *magna*. *Venus* had her honour and ſacrifice in which they offered to her *h* mony the price of a whore. *i Eumenides* were firſt adored by *Oreſtes* after he eſcaped the *Judgment* at *Athens* in *Areopagus* for killing his mother *Clytemneſtra*. Theſe by k *Heſiod* are called *Erinnyes*, by the *Athenians* Σεμναὶ θεαὶ, the venerable Goddeſſes. To theſe they offered drink offerings, without wine though at midnight: a cuſtome peculiar to them alone, as *m Æſchylus* witneſſeth, though I am not ignorant that *n Bacchus* his feaſts were kept in the night, whence he is called *Nyctelius*. But the Tragœdian,

ὁ χρυσότιμα δῶρα τὼν ἱερῶν πυρὸς
Ἔσω φέρειν ἐλπὶς κοπὶς θεᾶν.

Scholiaſt. ἐκ γὰρ τῆς ἀποσυκοφάνται Εὐμενίσιν ἀποδέχονται. By *p Sophocles* the manner of oblation is ſet down. Firſt having clean hands and pure, the worſhipper ought to draw out of a running fountain, water, and having filled three cups with water and honey (hence termed *q* τριόλια μελίγματα) the mouthes and ears of which are to be covered with the wool of a young ſheep, turning himſelf towards the Eaſt, he powred out ſome of two of them, but the third wholy; then with both

f In Panath.

a In Panath.
b Nonnus ad Naz. σπλ.
c Vid. Plut. in Alcib.
d Cap. 7.
e Ariſtoph. Sch. p. 85.
f Ariſt. p. 222.
g Id. p. 123.
h Clem. Alex. d. 19.
i Vide Æſch. in Eumen & Sch. Soph. Oed. Col.
k In Theogonia.
l Pauſ. p. 27. lib. 3.
m In Eumen. pag 275.
n Ariſtoph. p. 228.
o Loco citato.
p In Oedipo. Col. p. 272.
q Æſchylus loco dicto.

both hands setting thrice nine branches of Olive on the place where he casts his χοᾶς, he uttered out his conceived supplications. Other sacrifices they had as shall be shortly spoken. *r Hecate* was worshipped by them in *triviis*, where three ways met; supposed to be the Moon in Heaven, *Diana* on the earth, and *Hecate* below. *ſ* To her the richer sort every new Moon made a feast in the cross waies setting bread and other provision, which the poor greedily fed on, and were so ravenous after, that *t Penia* in *Aristophanes*, complains that they snatcht it, before it could be * laid down. Reference to this hath Ἑκαταῖα κατιδεῖν to eat the cates of *Hecate*, in *u Demosthenes*, which he seems to object as a forbid or wicked thing. Indeed βωμολόχος which signifieth one that privily taketh away any of the sacrifices from the Altar imports some time *impious*, Βωμολόχος, ἀσεβὴς. *Schol.* *x Aristoph.* And yet the same Scholiast tels us that the needy sustained themselves by the sacrifices. *y* ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερῶν δὲ οἱ πένητες ζῶσιν *Junonis* rites were performed in great pomp with hair over their shoulders and down the back, in a vesture that swept the ground, their arms bedecked with glorious bracelets, their paces so minced, that *a* Ἡραϊκῶς βαδίζειν *Junonium incedere*, is to go stately. *Prometheus* was worshipped in a kind of Torch dance, or running with links or lamps; it may be in memorial of the fire, which superstitiously they believed him to have stole out of heaven. To say more of their Gods were needless either for you to read, or me to write. More they had, among whom *Pan* was of latter making, introduced by the *b Phillipides*, and * Σφραγιτίδας Νύμφας. *Spragitides Nymphæ* after the *Persian* overthrow.

Vide Interp. Hor. in illud. Diva triformis. *ſ* Aristoph. Sch. p. 63.

t Pag. 64.

u In Orat. περὶ κόπων. p. 633. n. 59.

* In Nube. p. 176.

x In Plut. 63.

y Vide Schorum in Prov. Isaac. Casaub in Athen. l. 22. c. 5. p. 388.

a Cl. Alex. pag. 22.

* Plut. Arist. p. 240. l. 30.

CAP. V.

Θεοὶ ἀνθήλιοι Ἑρμαί. *Phacasiani Dii.*

THE *Athenians* before their doors erected statues which they called *c* θεοὺς ἀνθηλίους, because they were exposed to the Sun. Neither had they these alone, but certain others sacred

c Vide Hely. chium, & Dionysium Petavium in Themistium.

facred to *Mercury*, named from *Hermes*, *Hermæ Mercuriales*. The faſhion of them were divers. For firſt they were not ἀνεστραμμένοι, *porrecto veretro*, but made after that form by the *Athenians*, who received it from the *Pelaſgi*, as *d Herodotus*. Neither did they want leggs, till the *Athenians* made them ἀπόλυτοι, according to *e Pauſanias*. The manner was this, *A face of Mercury ſet upon a pillar of four Corners*. The head only and neck were ſhapen, and therefore it was called *truncus Hermes*, f *Juvenal*,

Nil niſi Cecropides, truncóque ſimillimus Herma,
Nullo quippe alio vincis diſcrimine, quam quod
Illi marmoreum caput eſt, tua vivit imago.

For which reaſon likewiſe the *Greeks* name them *g* ἄγυιαι, without limbs. On the lower parts of them were certain verſes engraven conterning the praiſes of ſome well deſerving men; but the *Hermæ* on which they wrote the exploits of thoſe that had merited, ſeem to mee to have been ſet up in that Gallery, which from the number of theſe images was commonly known by Ερμοῦ Στοὰ the Gallery of *Mercuriats*. At the conſecration of theſe they uſed ſome ceremonies, & ſacrificed a kind of Gruel, which was of no great preparation; becauſe they would not ſtand long about it. Hence χύτραις ἱδρύεσθαι may be ſaid to ſacrifice with that which coſts but little. h *Ariſtophanes*. Χύτραισιν, ὥσπερ μικρόδωρον Ερμαῖον. *Schol.* Ερμαῖον, ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐτελές. *in Pace*. Now to the erecting of their Images it will not be unſeaſonable to add ſomething of the form of their Gods, whom they made ſtanding with their hands upwards, as if they were more willing to receive than beſtow any thing. To which *a Ariſtophanes* alludes ſaying — ἢ γὰρ θεοὶ γνώσεσθ' ἀπὸ τῆς χειρῶν τὴν ἀγαλμάτων, ὅταν γὰρ εὐχόμεθα δοῦναι τἀγαθὰ, ἕστηκ' ἐκτεινόντα τὼ χεῖρ' ἀπάντων. Οὐχ' ὡς τι δώσοντ' ἀλλ' ὅπως τι λήψεται. *Even the Gods you ſhall know by their hands and ſtatues. For when we pray them to give us ſome good thing, they ſtand with their hands upward, as if they would not ſend down ſomething, but rather take oblation.* To tell you likewiſe, that theſe Idols were cloathed, is no news doubtleſs to one meanly verſed in the Greek antiquities.

d In Euterpe p. 48.
e In Atticis. p. 24. l. 4.
f Sat. v. 852.
g Vide Vlpian. in Dem. p. 232. & G. Longbain in Notis ad Longinum, περὶ ὕψους.
h Pag. 693.
a Concion. p. 747.

ties. To say that they were Shoes too is probable, whence they are named *Dii Phacasiani*, from φακάζια, a kind of low shoes which the *Athenians* called κονίποδες, from κόνις dust, and πούς the foot, because they were neer the ground διὰ τὸ πλάζειν μετ' ὀκνεῖν τῇ κόνει τὸ ποδί, saies *Clemens Alexandrinus*. But more sure I am that they were pictured with them on their feet. *c Juvenal.*

b Præd. l. 2. c. 11. p. 152.
c Sat. 3. v. 217.

Hic aliquid præclarum Euphranoris & Polycleti
Phacasianorum vetera ornamenta Deorum.

CAP. VI.

De Superstitione Atheniensium, & vaticiniis.

LOng since were the *Athenians* taxed by the Apostle for superstition, which though it properly signifies *d* a worshipping of the Gods too much, yet under it these follies are comprehended. Purification after fearful dreams, in *e Aristophanes* ὄνειρον ἀποκλύζειν. In which sense some understand *Persius*: *Noctem flumine purgare.* Wearing of Rings against Witchcraft as a Spell, called *f* δακτυλίους φαρμακίτας. *g* Spitting into their bosoms thrice at the sight of a mad-man; or one troubled with an *Epilepsie*. Of which also *Theocritus*, πτύει εἰς ἐμὸν ἔκπλουτον κόλπον. I know not whether the custome of our silly people have reference to this foppery, who use to spit at the naming of the Devil. Certain it is, that anciently they did spit in defiance, hence πτύω is put for καταφρονῶ and οὐδενὶ λόγῳ θῶμαι to contemne or set little by, as the *h* Scholiast of *Sophocles* on these words, πτύσας ὑδάτι δυσβρύτῳ. Washing with water the head as often as he shall go into the streets χὴ κατὰς λούσεσθαι; *Theophrastus*. Anointing the stones, divers it seems from those heaps sacred to *Mercury*, termed Ἑρμαῖ. This hath been of old done indeed as a token of thankfulness by *k Jacob* in *Bethel*, where he took the stone that he put for his pillow, and set it up, and powred oyle in the top of it, in his journey to *Padan Aram*. Hennes crowing, the bold entrance of a black dog into their houses, Serpents

d Donat. in Ter. p. 67.
e Rannis pag. 274. vide & Æsch. in Persis.
f Aristoph. Pl. p. 88. f.
g Theoph. Ch. pag. 49.
h Antigonem.
i Charact.
k Gen. 28. 18.

pents seen ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, sayes *Theophrastus*, of which *a Terence*: *Intrait in ædes ater alienus canis. Anguis per impluvium decidit de tegulis. Gallina cecinit.* Put to these a *b* Cat or Weesel (the word signifieth both) crossing his way, the mouse eating his salt bag. Not unlike them now adayes, whose cloaths the Rats or Mice shall chance to eat, deemed not long after like to live by our ignorant, or that he shall have great ill betide him. Adde the avoiding of obsequies for fear of pulluting. Antiquity was of opinion that sacred persons were defiled with the sight of the dead, as *Chemnitius* hath observed, and *c Euripides* brings in *Diana* speaking that it is not lawful for her to behold dying *Hippolytus*. Nay, the standing upon a grave was great religion; ἐπιβῆναι μνήματι. Furthermore observing of days good and bad, of which *d Hesiod*, ἄλλη μητρυιή, ἄλλη δὲ μήτηρ, that one is a stepdame, another a mother. *e* Amazement at the Eclipse of the Sun, as also the *f* Moon; not knowing the reason, why she did loose her light at that time, when she was in her full lustre. Buying of Medicine or enchanted stones for the quicker delivery in child-birth, in *Aristophanes*. ὠκυτόκια φάρμακα ἀφῶ. Of the vertue I speak nought. *g Boemus* relates, that in *Darien* in *America* the women eat an herb when they are great with Child which makes them to bring forth without pain. Joyn to this the sneezing over the right shoulder or the right side, *h* πταρμὸς ἐκ δεξιῶν. Observation of διοσημία, or sudden storms, as the *i* School of *Aristophanes* interprets it, snow, hail, or the like. *k* Cutting off their hair, and sacrificing it to rivers, as *Cephissus*. Marking the flight of the Owle, whence came the Proverb, *l* γλαῦξ ἵπταται, *The Owle hath fled*. And γλαῦξ ἵσταται for good luck. The Owle being a token of victory to the *Athenians*. *m* ἡ πᾶσις τῆς γλαυκὸς νίκης σύμβολον πᾶσι Ἀθηναίοις ἐνομίζετο. They ever accounting it so, since the War at *Salamis*, where the *Greeks* seeing an Owle, took courage and beat the *Barbarians*. *Appendix Vaticana* ἐν Σαλαμῖνι γὰρ πάσης διελθούσης ἀῤῥήσωτες Ἕλληνες ἐνίκησαν. Other madness of theirs was sleeping in the *n* Temple of *Æsculapius*, who were ill at ease, supposing the deity to give, or shew them a remedy, *o* for which

a In Phor. Ac. 4. Sc. 4.
b γαλῆ. Theoph.
c In Hip. p. 603. vide etiam Eustath. in Ιλ. ω.
d ἐν ἔργοις καὶ ἡμ.
e Plut. Pericle pag. 123. l. 35.
f Plin. Nicia. p. 29. l. 21.
g Lib. 4. c. 11.
h Plut. Them. P. 85. l. 23.
i In Ach. p. 379. & p. 424.
k Paus. Att. P. 35. l. 31. vide Eust. in Il. B.
l Arist. Vespis. p. 508.
m Zenobius.
n Aristoph. p. 44. 66. T. 448.
o Petronius.

which in gratulation they were wont to offer him a cock, if I mistake not. What shall I say of *p* putting him to death who should cut down an Oake or an Holme (so *Ilex* which in Greek is πρῖνος may be taken, I think it an Holme) in the *Heroum*? and punishing *Asarbes* capitally who being distracted had slain a sparrow sacred to *Æsculapius*? Thus farre have we gone. Let us proceed to their vaticinations or prophecyings. *Æschylus* brings *Prometheus* on the stage, vaunting how first he caught men * Ὀνειρογενεῖ τικὸν, Οἰωνιστικὸν, Ἡπατικὸν, Θυτικὸν. All which were practised among the *Athenians*, as you may read in *Xenophon*. Ὀνειρογενεῖ τικὸν, *the interpretation of dreams*, is a resolution of those doubts which we conceive of things offered to our fancy in sleep, as that of *Hecuba*, dreaming that she should bring forth a firebrand; and that of *Atossa* before the fall of her sonne *Xerxes*, whom she saw striving to yoke the *Barbarian* and *Greek* Woman, one of which overthrew him. This the ancients termed ὀνείρων ἰδῶν. *Æschylus*, ascribing much to the truth of them, supposing them to be sent from a Deity— ἡ γὰρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διός ἐστιν, *b Homer*. The skill in them is ἡ ὀνειροπόλων ἀ ἡ πεφυκυῖα, καλόν τι δυσκόλως γνωρίζειν to tell truly the event. Which was no small art: certain Books are written of that Subject. *d* ἡ εἰσὶν ἔγγεγραπται τινες τέχναι ὀνειρογενεῖτικαὶ, as *Antemidorus* his *Onirocritica*, Οἰωνιστικὸν, *Southsaying by Birds*, when such or such flie either before or behind him, at the right or left hand to shew what it doth prognosticate. *e Æschylus*. Ταμιεύω νυ χὠ τὰ πῆσιν οἰωνῶν ὀρεσσῆς δώσειν' ὅττινες δεξιοὶ ὄρνισι, Εὐώνυμοί τε ἡ δίαιταν ἑκάστοις ἔχουσ' ἔστι, ἡ ὡς πρὸς ἄλληλους τίνες ἐχθραί τε ἡ φιλόγυπτοι ἡ συμφοραί. It was formerly stiled *f* οἰωνοσκοπὴ, ἅτε ἐκ διανοίας πυκαζομένων ἀνθρωπίνων οἴκοθεν σημείων, which the mind doth suggest to the opinion. It is put for any divination in Greek Writers, but most properly ὀρνιθοσκοπτικὸν, which *g Telegonus* is related to have found according to *Nonnus*; but according to *h Plinie*, *Car*, whence it is called *Caria*. Ἡπατικὸν, looking into the liver or entrals, like the Latines *extispicium*, observing the colour of them, λοβῶν τε πυκινότητα ἐυμορφίαν; as likewise the soundnes, hence taken as a prodi-

p Ælian. nat. l. 5. c. 17.

* Vide Sch. p. 32.

a Απαρχη. a. initio.

b Iliad. 1.

c Æschy. Pro. pag. 33.

d Eust. in Il. a. pag. 36.

e Pag. 33.

f Aristides T. 3. pag. 25.

g Nonnus Ἐμοιαγ. l. 5. a. 6.

h Nat. histor. l. 7. c. 56.

i Æsch. Ploco citato.

a prodigie πονηρὸν ἔχων κακόηλον, in *k Plutarch*, the extremity of the liver (like the outmoſt parts of the Vine leaſe, ſaies *Iſidore*) not to be ſeen, or rather that which they call the head, *Ovid. Caſúmque caput reperitur in extis.* Θυοσκόον, in marking the flame of the Sacrifice burnt, *l* τραγῳδὰ σήματα, the Tragœdian calls them, by which they could foretel events. More doubtleſs had they waies of Witchcraft, as the other Greeks. Ἐνόδιον, as when one ſhall meet you carrying ſuch or ſuch things, then this ſhall befall you, *Æſchylus* tearms them ἐνοδίους συμβόλους, *Sch.* τοὺς ἐξ ὁδοῦ ποιητούς. See *Scaliger* in *Tibullum* on theſe words, *Puer è triviis.* The Scholiaſt of *a Ariſtophanes* on ξυμβολον ὄρνιν, they made, quoth he, whom they met firſt, as it were tokens of good hap. Whence it may be came up the Salutation which *b Sophocles* calls εὐημέρου σήματος φερτιδῶν, wiſhing luck as χαῖρε among the Greeks, and the Latines, *c Eſto bonis avibus viſus, &c.* Σύμβολον is put likewiſe for ſneezing, or the conjecturing at them. *Sternutamentum* being accounted a Deity by the Romans; but ſacred to *d Ceres*, as the Greeks, whence proceeded that Ζῆνα σε, which we intimate in our *God help you*, as often as we ſee any man purging his head. Which not to have proceeded from any deadly Diſeaſe, is ſufficiently evinced by *Caſaubon* on *Athenæus*. Οἰκοσκοπικὸν, at the ſight of a Mouſe, Serpent, Cat, or the like in the Houſe, or when the oyl Cruſe is dry, Hony, Wine, Water is ſpent, to gueſs at future things. Of this *Xenocrates* wrote. Χειροσκοπικὸν, Palmiſtry, when by the length of the hand, or lines of the Table, they can judge of freeneſſe in houſe-keeping, of Marriage and Poſterity, of which *f Helenus* once left a Monument. Παλμισμὸν, gathered out of the ſhaking of the parts of the body, as the ſhoulder, thigh, or right eye, in which kind *Poſidonius* was an Author expoſed to the world. Ἐγγαστριμυθίαν as that wherein the Witch of *Endor* was experienced, out of the loweſt parts of whoſe belly the Devil ſpake. The firſt that practiſed this among the *Athenians* was *Eurycles*, hence they who are poſſeſſed with this Spirit of Prophecying, are called Εὐρυκλεῖς τινες, *Eurycliteæ*, as the *g Scholi.* of *Ariſteph.* Who calls this Art *h* Εὐρυκλείους μαντείας, *the Divining of Eurycles.* Νεκυομαντείαν,

k Pag. 357. l. 31.

l Æſch. loco citato.

a In Av. p. 574.

b In Oed. Tyr. initio.

c Ovid. Faſt.

d Sch. Arift. loco citato.

e Nonnus in Naz.

f Nonnus.

g In Veſp. pag. *h* Ib. p. 502. 503.

where

where after ſolemn Sacrifices they were wont to call up the ſouls of the deceaſed, demanding of them what afterward ſhould befall. As *i Wierus*, and no wonder, for they held the Spirits of their Parents and Kindred for Gods, *quibus ſacrificabant* (ſaies *Bodin*) *& ad quorum ſepulchra comedebant, in quos Scriptura invehens ac deteſtans, inquit, & comederunt ſacrificia mortuorum*, to which they ſacrificed, and at whoſe ſepulchers they fed, againſt whom the Scripture inveighing and deteſting, ſpeaketh, *And they eat the oblations of the dead.* Of this *l Ariſtophanes* makes mention, and *m Homer* in his *Odyſſes*. This is that which moſt properly is called γοητεία from γόος lamentation, by *Wierus* termed *diræ execrationes*, *a* for with great mourning they invocated κακοῖσι δαίμοσιν, wicked Gods for the accompliſhment of their diveliſh deſignes. It may moſt fitly have the name of *Nigra Magia*, *b* for ſo the Wizards divide them into the black and white Magick. Μαγεία, from whence the word Magick is derived, ſeems to have been found by the *Medes* and *Perſians*, whoſe Prieſts were called *Magi*, great Philoſophers, as *d Laertius* is witneſs. This is ſuppoſed to be the good Magick. *e* Ἐπίκλησις ἔστι δαιμόνων ἀγαθοποιῶν, πρὸς ἀγαθῶν τινῶν σύστασιν φαρμακεία, is a giving of a *Philtrum*, a Medicine for the procurement of Love or rather enraging of Luſt, by bewitching ſomething and giving it to be eaten, which to have power over Swine is credibly reported. Κοσκινομαντεία, Tricks with a pair of Shears and Sive, of which *Theocritus*. *f* Ἀξινομαντεία, To take councel of an Hatchet, taking and laying it on a piece of Timber flat-waies, which did the feat by turning round. Like to which is that naughty uſe of a key and Bible. Ἀστραγαλομαντεία, by caſting of the Dice to ask the number of Wives, Children, Farmes &c. Which anſwer to the quantity of the chance. Ἀλευρομαντεία & Ἀλευρομαντεία, done by Corn, *h* Ἀεθλομαντεία, by taking the Letters of the name, as when two were to fight, and by value of them to judge the conqueſt, As they ſaid of *Hectors* being overcome by *Achilles*. Ὀριθομαντεία making a circle, they divided it into four and twenty parts, and on each part made a letter, and putting wheat upon the letters

i De Magis Inf. l. 2. c. 11.
k Dæmonomaniæ. l. 2. c. 3.
l In Avid. p. 613. a.
m Lib. λ.
a Nonn. in Naz.
b Vid. Bopin.
c Vide Non.
d In Procem.
e Nonnus.
f Vid. Odyſſ.
g Vide Theocrit. in Phar.
h Delrio Diſqui. Mag. l. 4. c. q. 5. ſec. 7.

letters they brought in a Cock, and observing from what letters he took up the grain, they at last joyned them together, and so knew their successors, husbands, &c Συμχρησμῳδία, opening a book of *Homer* and by the first verse that they lighted upon to divine, as that of the death of *Socrates*, who so foretold it, meeting with that verse of *Homer*, which speaks of the arrival of *Achilles* within three daies at *Thessaly*. *i Et quoniam poemata pro vaticiniis, &c.* And because poems were accounted Prophecies, as Poets Prophets, they were most busie in them. Hence in publick causes had the Romans recourse to the *Sibylline Oracles*, and the private Grecians to the verses of *Homer*. And that *Sors* was put for writing of Oracles, is manifest out of the words *Sortes Delphicæ*, for foretelling or divination. *a* I know the She Priest of *Apollo* being inspired with a kind of holy fury spake to those who asked counsel. Whence the word *b* μαντικὴ at this time read for Southsaying, was anciently called μανικὴ madness. And yet that their cunning men had a kind of Lottery, is as cleer as day, the *c Scholiast* of *Euripides* testifying; done it seems in matters of question, so κλῆσις Ἀχαιῶν may intimate as much as to undergo trial. Prædictions there were, *d* saith *Eustath.* Out of signes and wonders, as also of the noise that leaves make when they are burned. To which some adde ἀεροσκοπία or divination by the ayre, quoting for it *Aristophanes in Nubibus*, which I now remember not.

i Wier. de Magis Inf. l. 2. c. 13.

a Vide Sch. Arist. in Plut.

b Aristid. T. 3. pag. 25.

c In Hippol. pag. 580.

d In Il. 2. pag. 36.

CAP. VII.

De Templis Asylis.

THeir Churches were of two sorts, sacred to their Gods in Greek, νεὼς, or ἱερὸν. And sacred to their Demi-gods most propnrly ναΐσκοι. But the word is promiscuously used by the Tragœdians *Clemens Alexandrinus* is of opinion that the first Original of their Temples was the erecting of an Edifice to the honour of the deceased. *e* νεὼς μὴ ἐνεστηκυίας ἐπιτάφιον ἐνόμιζον εἶναι, *e* Vid. p. 21.

τόμος ἡ προμήνυσις. Τοῦτ' ἔστι καὶ τάφος τοῦ ἐπιτελεσθέντος. buried in the *Acropolis*, *Erichthonius* in the Temple of *Minerva*, *Polias*, the daughters of *Celeus* in *Eleusis*, &c. They were divided into two parts, the sacred and prophane, this called ἔξω περίρρανσις, the other ἐντὸς. *f Casaubon* tels us that περίρρανσις was that holy water set at the door of the Temple, with which every one that entered into the Temple besprinkled himself, or was besprinkled by those that sacrificed; of which in the next Chapter. But others have written that it stood at the entrance of the *Adytum*, into which it was not lawful for any but the Priests to come. The *g* Sch. of *Sophocles* thus describes the Church. Ναὸς, quoth he, is the place where the Altar stands. Βωμὸς, the Altar on which they offered their oblations. Τέμενος, where they placed the Idol which they worshipped, in ancient time a rude Table or Stock, *a* οὗτος *Clemens Alexandrinus* cals it, as that of *Juno Samia*, afterward made in the magistracie of *Procles* to be a statue. At first named, *b* ξόανα, διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ ξέσθαι τὸ ὕλης, from the shaving of it, but when art began to be so expert as to make it resemble a man, they termed it βρέτας, from βροτὸς *mortalis*, whose shape it bare. At the setting up thereof they used these Ceremonies: That a woman neatly trimmed and deckt in purple vesture, should bring on her head a pot of sodden pulse, as beans, pease and the like, which they sacrificed in thankfulness for their first food; εὐχαριστήριον ἀνθρώπου τροφῆς ὁ πρῶτος διδούς. For as much as I conceive out of *Pollux*, they prayed not where this was consecrated, or did divine honours, but in the ἱερῷ or ναῷ, the body of the Church, framing as may be gathered, their gesture towards it *d* Αὐτὴ ἡ διεγερτήριος, ἀγάλματα, ξόανα, ἕδη θεῶν, &c. Furthermore belonging to their Temples there was a kind of Vestry, in Greek Ἀρχεῖον by some translated *summum templum*, as if it were at the upper end. This seems to have been the Treasurie both for the Church, and any soever who fearing the security of his wealth, would commit it to the custody of the Priest, as *e Xenophon* is reported to have done at the Temple of *Diana* in *Ephesus*. *Martial* points at this when he saies,

f In Theodb. Charact.

g In Oed. Tyrannum.

a Protreptico pag. 23.

b Idem.

c Schol. Arist. p. 115.

d Lib. 3. c. 1. τμ. γ.

e Laertius in vita p. 122. vide ad eum locum Cas.

Templa

Templa vel arcano demens spoliaverat auro.

So reverently did they esteem of these houses of their Gods, that to do those offices of Nature, I mean venting of Excrements too shamelesly seen among us, in the Church-yards, as I may call them, was an abomination, punished severely by *Pisistratus*. For when he had taken tribute of all that the *Attick* Ground had brought forth, they so hated him for that Taxation, as that they made the κοπρογγυα of the Temple of *Apollo Pythius* a Jakes; which although forbidden never was redressed. And yet so secretly was it done, that he could apprehend none, save at last one Stranger, whom he caused to be whipt, with this Proclamation, THAT BECAUSE HE CONTEMNED THE EDICT HE SHOULD DIE. Hence to a man that soundly smarted for his wickedness, they were wont proverbially to say, *He had better have eased himself in the Pytheum* or if there were more in the plural number. Κρεῖττον ἦν αὐτῷ ἐν τοῖς Πυθίοις κακκᾶσθαι. Nay so honourable held they these Churches, that to them they granted priviledge of *Sanctuary*, to which who would flie, might not from thence be drawn out under a Trespass upon Religion. Of this kind was the Temple of *Minerva* and *Theseus*, the Altars of the *Eumenides* and *Mercy*, [a] whose Image they would not have erected any where in their City, although in the midst thereof she had a Grove. [b] The first *Asylum* among the Heathens is held to have been in *Athens*, built by the *Heraclidæ*.

[a] Vid Rosinus.
[b] Polyd. Virg. in Eurip. *they are persecuted sitting neer the Altar.* T. 2. p. 472.

CAP. VIII.

De Sacerdotiis.

OF holy Orders among them I conceive to have been divers sorts. Παράσιτοι, *Parasiti*, a word had in latter times in great derision, exagitated almost in every Comœdy, [c] put for a shark or smell-feast, [c] *Edax Parasitus*. But held once in good esteem. For when they had set apart such a parcel of

[c] Terent.

land as they thought the revenues thereof would suffice for the Sacrifices of such and such Gods, they chose certain men who should receive or gather the Harvest. *Crates*, οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ ἱερῷ σίτῳ ἐκλογεῖς αἱρούμενοι. With the incomes of this were the charges of those publick Sacrifices defrayed. Hence εἰσόδια μεγάλα *introitus magni*, great yearly Substance, is used for great Sacrifice in *e Aristophanes* Scholiast. ὅτι δὲ ἔλεγον τὰς πανηγύρεις τοῖς θεοῖς θυσίας Κήρυκες. *Ceryces*, the same signifies a Crier, but in sacred Functions a Minister, who slew and offered the *Victim*. *f Athenio* the Comœdian ascribes much honor to them, as if they had first taught men to seeth victuals, the flesh of sheep and Oxen, while before they devoured each other raw. They take their name from *g Ceryx* the son of *Mercury* and *Pandorus*. But *h Casaubon*, ἀπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος, *à præstantiore parte muneris quod obibant, sic dicti: Idem namque & hostias mactabant, adolebantque, &c.* They in the time of Divine Rites, craved the silence of the people in these words, Εὐφημεῖτε. Σίγα πᾶς ἐχωλεώς. Be whist all ye people. Good words, for so εὐφημεῖν signifies, as well as to say nought, which *Horace* fitly interprets, when he sayes, *Male ominatis Parcite verbis.* When sacrifice was ended, they dismissed the Congregation with these words, λαῶν ἄφεσις. To which Custom he unfitly looked who derived the Mass from *Missa est*, *ite*, better fetcht in my mind by *a Wicthelius* from *Masah* the Hebrew, which avails as much as to praise. Μυσταγωγοί, the same with *b* Ἱεροφάνται, who initiated them who desired to be admitted into the society of the superstitiously zealous (who after they were entred, were not under a yeare compleat, permitted to see their Bible) *c Schol. Naz.* Ἱεροφάνται πρὸς τὸ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐκφαίνειν. *Hierophantæ* so called from ἐκφαίνειν τὰ ἱερά. Opening the holy things. Εἰσὶ δέ τινες καὶ ἱερουργοί. *d* The Learned Bishop, upon the place of *Nazianzen*, notes that *Moses* among the *Israelites* was an *Hierophanta*, shewing unto them what they were to do in those sacred businesses. Πυροφόροι, they who lighted the fire of the Altar, whose office made them safe in war and danger. Hence of bloody fight we say οὐδὲ πυροφόρος, *Ne ignifer quidem*, there escaped not he that served at the Altar.

d Secund. Act. Dialect. apud. Athen. p. 235.

e Avid. p. 581.

f Apud Ath. l. 14. p. 661.

g Vide Salm. in Inscripti. Pollucem. l. 8.

h In Athen. l. 15. c. 23.

i Causaub. in Theophrast. p. 321.

a In lib. quem scripsit de Sacrament.

b Meursius Eleucin. c. 13.

c Stel. 1. p. 63.

d L. *Mountac.* of *Chicester.*

Altar. Ἱερομνήμονες, The Priests in the *Great Mysteries*, ten in number. Νεωκόροι whom *e Nicander* calls ζάκοροι from *f* κοσεῖν τὸ καλλωπίζειν, to be decent, because they keep the Temples clean, and swept them as *Ion* in *g Euripides* speaks. These were the ναοφύλακες, whose charge it was to preserve that which was found in the Church, and to see that repaired which went to ruine, saies *h Aristotle*. And yet we read that the *Parasiti* did sometimes look to the mending of it. There being a law enacted that what they laid out should be restored again. Ἱερεῖς in *i Aristophanes* likewise termed ἀρήμονες. These are the Priests ever waiting on the Gods, *k* whose prayers the ancient required at their sacrifices; out of which they had a fee, *l* the trotters and skins, as the *m Ceryces* the tongues. And indeed there was no necessity, for there being tables in their Temples, as *Casaubon* teaches us, whereon they might lay their oblations, (and perhaps sometimes depart) of which the Priest according to his stomack did share. Well known to *n Aristoph.* Who relates the like of the Priest of *Æsculapius*. It was requisite to this function that they who undertook it should be found both wind and limb, they being asked εἰ ὑγιαῖς before their creation, whether they were whole in every member: which Ceremony to have been used among holy Orders of later daies is well known, their neighbours wives bearing record, sayes a *Christianus* that they have not taken into their societies *quid mutilum*. There were moreover the Priests as the Βασίλισσα, in *Demosthenes*, and the Καινόβοες whom in all things *b Dionysius Halicarnasseus* compared to the vestal Nunnes.

e In Alexaph. p. 144.
f Aristoph. Sc. p. 125.
g T. 2. p. 621.
h In Policic.
i In Plut. p. 71.
k Casaub. in Theoph.
l Arist. p. 481.
m Arist. p. 101.
n In Plut. p. 71.
a In Aristoph.
b Antiq. l. 2. n. 3.

CAP. IX

De Sacrificiis.

THE Father of Philosophy is of Opinion, that Sacrifices first began after the *Ancient* had ended their *harvest*. For then being free from care, they found time for mirth and jollity. In which they offered their first fruits called ἀπαρχαί, from

from whence ἀπάρχεσθαι is read generally to do any Sacrifice. Neither doth ἀπαρχὴν import leſs. For *c* ἄρη ſignifies the bend, or great cheſt of the garner, wherein they laid up the harveſt threſht and winnowed; ἄρχειν, the firſt or beginning, as if when they began to treaſure up their ſtore, they firſt of all liberally paid ſome devotion to their Gods. The *Attick* oblations, even to *Draco*, were nothing elſe but the earths beneficence, but before *Solons* age, burnt offerings; who willed in his laws, that they ſhould be ἰκέσια ἱερεῖα, choſen and ſelected ſacrifices. The rights performed in them were not different from thoſe in the daies of *Homer*, but ſomewhat reformed. It behoved them that would take in hand theſe holy things to purifie themſelves ſome certain dayes before, *e* ὀσημεραὶ ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸν, the number of them is not ſet down. I take ἀφροδίσια here to abſtain from carnal delights. (*Tibull. Diſcedite ab aris, Quos tulit heſterna gaudia nocte Venus*) To which purpoſe *Theano* being asked when it might be lawfull for a woman, from the company of a man to go to ſacrifice, anſwered, from her own at any time, but a ſtranger never. Being thus prepared, they came and ſtood round the Altar, having with them a basket, in which was the knife hid (covered with flower and ſalt in *f Ariſtophanes* ὀλαὶ, in *g Homer* ἐλοχμοὶ) with which they cut the throat of the *victime*. Then they purified the Altar going about it with the right hand towards it. *h Ariſtophanes*. Περιέρχου τὸν βωμὸν τὰ χέρνιβα ἐπὶ δεξιᾶ. This luſtration was made with meal, and holy water ſprinkled thereon. This water is called *i* χέρνιψ, in which they quenched a fire brand taken from the Altar, with which they bedewed the ſtanders by, accounting it a kind of cleanſing. (Hence ἀ χέρνιβας νέμειν was forbidden him whom they took for a polluted and forlorn rogue) then they caſt ſome of the flower on them. And having thus expiated, they cry out *b* Τίς τῆδε, *Who is here?* to which they made reply, πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ, Many and good. Then they prayed. *c Homer*, Εξείης ἑσπον ἰὺν δημῶτον ἐπὶ βωμόν. Χερνίψαντο δ' ἐσσεῦτο, καὶ ἐλοχμύτας ἀνέλοντο, Τοῖσιν δ' Χρύσης μεγάλ' ἤρατο χεῖρας ἀνασχών. Among the later they ſpake with a loud voice εὐφημεῖν, before they began, *Let us pray.*

d Plut. p. 65. l. 26. *they called their lean ſacrifices* κέρατα καὶ γήνειον, *horns and hair, as if naught elſe*, Ariſt. p. 584. *e* Demoſt. pag 400. 476.

f In Pace. p. 695.

g Il. α. *with theſe* ἐλοχμύτας *the Greeks ever began ſacrifice, the Romans*, Far, Dionyſ. Halic. l. 2. n. 4.

h Loco laud.

i Athen. l. 9. p. 409.

a Sophocles Oed. Tyr.

b Ariſtoph.

c Iliad. α.

Vide Schol. Eur. in Phæn. p. 228.

pray. Supplications ended, they drew the victime so as (if it were to the Gods above) the head might look upwards, which *d Homer* ὠὶ ἰδύων. *Eust.* ὡς μὲν τοῖς ἄνω θεοῖς, ἀναλαβὼν τὴν τοῦ ἱερείου κεφαλὴν ὥστε ἀποβλέπειν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. If it were to the *Heroes* or Demi-gods, with his throat downwards. Then they slew him and skinned him, and cutting out the * buck shin bones and hanch, they covered them with fat, which is called μηρία (hence the gods of the heathen are deciphred by *e Nazianzen*, μηρῶν χαίροντες, rejoycing in the fat,) to the end that they might burn all out in a great flame. *f* ἵνα δὴ ἅπαντα τὰ ὀστᾶ κατακαυθῇ τὰ μηρία. λαμπρὸν καπνὸν ἀναφέροντα πυρί. For the Grecians counted it unluckie if it did not consume, & thought that it was not καλλίφημα: upon the μηροὶ they cast small pieces of flesh cut from every part of the beast, beginning with the shoulder (which is in Greek ὦμος) hence this is called ὠμοθετεῖν. The reason *Eustathius* gives *g* ὡς δοκεῖν πᾶσι φαγεῖν, ὅλα ἕκαστα τὰ μέρη τοῦ ἱερείου καταφαγόντας, that they might seem to consume all, which the *Athenians* did not, being commanded by law to carry some of the sacrifice home. By reason of which injunction, they did so strain courtesie of their Gods, that the illiberal and nigardly sort of People would sell that which was left, and so make gain of their devotion. *h* τὰ μὲν ἱερεῖα πλὴν τῶν ἱερείων τι μέρεα ἀποδίδοσθαι sayes *Theophrast.* Where *i Casaubon* notes, *Coxam fere offerebant, aut intestina, aut aliud non magnæ rei persæpe.* They offered the hanch bone, or the entrals, or somewhat of no great worth, where by entrals you are to understand the spleen, the liver, & the heart, which *Homer* calls σπλάγχνα, for though the word be taken for the bowels, yet it signifies the heart too, in which sence we say ἄσπλαγχνος ἀνὴρ, a pusillanimous man, and ἐυσπλάγχνος a courageous as the *a* Scholi. of *Sophocles* teaches us, and so σπλάγχνα ἐλέους the bowels of compassion. These the ancients did divide among them at sacrifice to feed on, and afterwards cut out the rest to roast. For when they had finished their devotions, they let the reins loos to all manner of voluptuousnes, gluttony and drunkenes. For oft times they left nothing after their sacrifice, especially when they offered.

d Iliad. α.

* Μηρία.

e In Stel.

f Eustath. p. 101. l. λ.

g Loco laud.

h Th. Charac. περὶ ἀνελ. δειλ.

i Pag. 136.

a In Ajacem. Lorarium.

red to *Vesta*, whence the proverb Ἑστίᾳ δόειν, it is to eat up all, like the Roman *Lari sacrificare*: To say that publickly they began to *Vesta* were more than I could well prove; but that they did so is plain. In their houses they had Altars, and so I supposed once Ἀπ' Ἑστίας ἄρχεσθαι to be taken; but this was done in *Libaminibus*, in their drink offerings, as he on *b* *Aristophanes*. As for their meat offerings it was required that they should be *c* sound and without blemish, whether it were an oxe, sheep, goat, swine, calf: to sacrifice they simply termed θύειν which out Latines have interpreted fitly, *Facere*, *d* Virgil, *cum faciam vitula*. Whose poverty was so great that he could not afford a sheep, or the like, they thought the Gods would be well pleased if he offered *Molæ*; which the Greeks call ἐ δυλήματα *meal*, which by the richer was mingled with oil and wine as the *f* Scholiast of *Aristoph.* The more wealthy instead of this did cast frankincense on the Altars. For the sacrifices of *Pallas* the tithes were set a part; as *g* *Demosthenes*. in their oblations the μάγειροι or cooks give the *h* 10. part to the *Prytanes*. So ἀδιάτακτος καπνός, put for ἰσχὰς where the Gods cannot have their allowance. Schol. *Aristoph.* on ἀδιάλειπτος τῆς θυσίας ἐχούσας καπνός. Ὅθεν ἦν ἔχον τὰς διατεταγμένας τῶν θυομένων τοῖς Πρυτάνεσιν αἱ μάγειραι δίδοναι, δίον ἦν ἐκεῖνον ἀδιάτακτον ἔχοντα ἰσχάν, &c.

b Vid. p. 582.

c vide Pollucem. l. 1.

d In Bucolicis.

e Casaub. in Theop p. 237.

f Pag. 701.

g Pag. 378.

h Scho'. Arist. p. 304.

CAP. X.

De Anno Attico.

THe ancient Greek year consisted of three hundred and sixtie daies, each month consisting of thirty. Rude Antiquitie ignorant of celestiall contemplations, deeming the Moon to finish her course in that space: Which according to *a* *Petavius* seems false. *Lunaris enim non fuit, sed ejus menses tricenis diebus constabant singuli.* By which reckoning had they not used intercalations, they had soon found a main difference in the times, when they ought to have celebrated their festivals. They made therefore a *Tetraeteris*; in which when

a De Doct. Temp. l. 1. cap. 1.

when they found 7 daies deficient, they supplyed them by adding * two to every end of the year, called ἀναρχοι ἡμέραι, [b] *eo quod per illud biduum Athenæ Magistratibus carebant,* Because for those two daies *Athens* was without Magistrates. But the last of these four had but 359 daies, besides the two ὑπερβάλλοντα, in respect of the Olympick Games, ever kept in the * full Moon, which could not have happenned, had they not began the *Tetraeteris* with a new Moon. Nevertheless the Sun and Moon appearing 14, dayes odds in a *Tetraeteris*, they made every eighth year an interjection of one Month, that this time being ended, the course might still return the same. This all *Greece* observed sayes *Petavius*, by the *Athenians* termed μυνδία, by the people of *Eis* an *Olympiad*. What kind of Lunary year was in use among the Grandsires of *Greece*, is not truly known, by *Petitus* delivered to be of D. 347. every Month 29 D. except one, which like our February had but 28 D. Every two years one Month was inserted: one of 29 D. another time of 28 D. But because in two years this * *magnus annus* far passed the Moon 15 D. *itaque Tetraeteridas fecerunt.* This consisted of 1445 D. 723 & 722 make 1445 so many days 354 four times doubled hath, if you please to adjoyn 29. Of this sort of calculation doth he understand [f] *Geminus* Τὰς μιᾶς τεσσαρακονθημέρους ἔτη, τοὺς δὲ ἐμβολίμους πεντεκαιδεκάτων. *That must be fitly understood,* quoth he, *for they did number the months as if they were* 30 D. *when notwithstanding they had but* 29. [g] *Petavius* is otherwise conceited, who takes the Scholiast of *Aristophanes* in that sence, as meaning 29 D. full ones, when indeed exactly taken according to [h] *Geminus* you may account 29 ½. and [i] *Ulpian*, ἑκατονεννέα ἡμέρων. 29 ½. And yet are we not destitute of authority, that a Month was supputed 29. D. [k] *Theon.* Μῆνα δὲ λέγουσι, τὸν ἀπὸ συνόδου Σελήνης ἕως Ἡλίου χρόνον ἀπὸ συνόδου, ὃς ἔστιν ἡμερῶν κθ'. But that the fragments were left out, the words are plain, ὅτι δὲ οὐ πάντων ἐνιαυτῶν ἡμέραν ἀγάγει, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῶν ὀκταετηρίδων ἑξῆς τέτρα δὲ τὰ μῆνα ἐκτρέπονται ὀφείλει δὲ οὐ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν διαφυγὴν ἐν τῷ ἔτει χρόνον ποιοῦσι. Ἀθηναῖοι. *He means a*

* Negar Petitus Miscel. l. 8. p. 192. Petav. affirm.
[b] M. Selder. in Apparat. ad Græco Epoch. Chro.
* Id est, *The fifteenth day* T. 1. p. 4.
[c] De D. Tem.
[d] Eleg. Chr. p. 225. Petav. *goes not so some.* Lib. de doct. Temp. 1. c. 6.

* *each of these two years severally taken was called* vertens, *joyned* annus magnus.
[e] Loco laud.
[f] Elem. Astro. c. 8. p. 36.
[g] In Auctario.

[h] Loco citato.
[i] In Arg. Orat. contra Aud. p. 380.
[k] In Arati Diæsem. p. 74.

day the ſpace of a night and a day, for according to ſuch Months did they adminiſter their civil affairs. And now it is in requeſt among many of the Greeks. But of this enough. Soon was the *Tetraeteris* found faulty, therefore was made a Kalender of eight years, in which doubling eight times the difference of the Sun, to wit, 11 D. ¼, made up three months, inſerted every third, fift, and eighth year. But he ſcruples comming ſhort in ſixteen years 3. D. they intercalated three: And ſeeing ſtill they could not make it even. *a Euctemon* and *Philippus* made an Almanack of nineteen years, which by *Callippus* was produced to 76. Months 640. of them 28. ἐμβόλιμοι, ἢ ἓξ πάλιν ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐμβολίμων ἀμοίρων ἐχρήσαντο, ſaies *Geminus*, This was the progreſs of their reformation. But we muſt look back again and conſider that they counted their year two waies. Firſt of *b* CCCLX, as hath been already ſpoken, next CCCLIIII, when they made the Months interchangeably πλήρεις καὶ κοῖλοι, *full and deficient*, that is, one 29, the other 30 daies, yet both Lunary. For that is proved even by the names of their days. The firſt wherein the Moon appeared new, called by a *Synalephe* or contraction of the words νουμηνία. The ſecond δευτέρα. The eigth ἕνη καὶ ἱσταμένου, or half full: the full πανσέληνος. The laſt τετράς, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ συμβαίνον, becauſe that in the daies of *d Thales Mileſius*, who was the Author of that terme, the Month had 30 and no more, but ended, whence I ſuppoſe τετράδι τελευτᾶν, ſignifie the the dead, the period of whoſe life has been come to. Though *Diogenian* gives other reaſons. And by the way we muſt not think, that they had no regard to the courſe of the Sun; *f ſed tamen ut annus fieret Solaris &c.* But nevertheleſs that the year might be correſpondent to the Sunne, they put five daies called ἐπαγόμεναι epacted, to the laſt month *Scirrophorion*, for the ſupplying of the defect. And ſo the year had 365. D. which was the true and juſt meaſure. But he might have added ſometimes 366, by reaſon of that ¼ which *Geminus* acknowledges the *Greeks* to have reckoned, although they accounted their Months but 30. D. This is that *annus implicitus*, which *a Aratus* ſtiles μίξιν ἐνιαυτοῦ. To this point the

a Geminus p. 38. *whom I follow. Not ignorant that* Meton *was the firſt that made the Circle of* 19. *years. Hence* Μέτωνος ἐνιαυτός. Metons *year is put for a long time proverbially.*

b Theſe *were all the months of* 30 D. *as you may ſee in Schol. Ariſtoph.* Achar. p. 412. c.

c Gem. p. 32.

d Laertius in vita.

e Pollux. l. 1.

f Petit. Eccl. Chro. d. 215.

a In Διοσημ. p. 28.

the Greek Authors telling their year by ſeed time. *b Sophocles* — Ἐνιαύσιον Ἀρότων ἔτος. For the ancients ſaies *c Theon*, took the year three waies; either by the Sun or ſeaſons; as ſpring, ſummer, autumn, winter, *d* (*Sophocles* Ἓξ ἦρος εἰς ἀρχῆσιν ἡμέρας χέων. Χειμῶνι δ' ἕνδεκα (or thirdly by the the Moon: whoſe irregularity *Solon* is reported by *Plutarch* firſt to have marked. Obſerving therefore that ſhe on the ſame day overtook and ſurpaſſed the Sun, *f* τὸ αὐτὸ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ συναμβάσεως καὶ παρόδου τὸν ἥλιον, he cauſed that to be called *g* ἕνη καὶ νέα *the old and new*, becauſe that remnant which was before the conjunction, he thought belonging to the precedent Month, and that remnant which was after the conjunction appertaining to the ſubſequent. (Theſe pieces *h Aratus* calls σωτῆρας μήνας πίεσαι) in which matter he is thought to have had *Homer* in ſight, who in his *i Odyſſes* terms the thirteenth day, as *Didymus* expounds it, Τῇ μὲν ἐνάτῃ νέος, τῇ δ' ἰσταμένοιο. Where we may note that then they had no τάξεως, but counted from one to twelve in the *ordinal numbers*, uſed by *k Demoſthenes* in one Oration, ἐν δωδεκάτῃ, καὶ δευτέρᾳ καὶ εἰκοστῇ Ἑκατομβαιῶνος. Then putting the leſſer to the greater, they ſaid τρίτη ἐπὶ δέκα, τετάρτη δέκα, *the third above ten, the fourth above ten*, and ſo to twenty. * But when at the one and twentieth day they perceived the wane of the Moon to be great, and the light almoſt loſt, they changed the order, and uſed δεκάτη φθίνοντος, ἐνάτη, &c. *the tenth of the decreaſe, the ninth of the decreaſe*, and ſo to the twenty ninth, δευτέρᾳ φθίνοντος, *the ſecond from the decreaſe, or from the end*, going lower in number ſtill, as the ſplendor of the Moon was diminiſhed; but the 30th they call'd ἕνη καὶ νέα for the cauſe above. Here likewiſe they take the reaſon why the Moneth ending was φθίνων. Ἐπειδὴ φθίνει ἅπασι καὶ φθείρεσθαι δοκεῖ τὸ φῶς, Becauſe the dayes and Moons do as it were die, according to that of *Horace*. *Novæque pergunt interire Lunæ* in *Macrobium*. *quid aliud niſi illum φθίνοντα dicit, cujus paulatim deficientis ſuppputatio in nomen deſinit ſecuturi: & ἰσταμένου illum, qui præcedit numerum ſucceſſurus priori in defectum meanti* Ἰσταμένου ſtanding to ſupply the place of the departing Moneth; fixed

b In Antigon p. 213.
c In Aratum p. 78.
d In Oedip. Tyran. p. 183.
e In vita pag. 66. l. 15.
f Plutarch:
g Laert. in vita.
h In Dioſcor. p. 125.
i Odyſſ. ξ. p. 164.
k Contra Timocratem. p. 446. n. 39.
* Vide Plut. loco ſuper laudat.
l Ulpian in Dem. p. 210.
m Macrobius Sat. l. c. 16.

and ſtill waiting till the Moon ſhall have journeyed to the compleating and ending of the pretedent time. Thus the laſt day of our lives is ſaid to ſtand. *Virgil*, n *Stat ſua cuique dies*, as unto which we muſt paſs through all the reſt, and once approach. Thus ſquared they their times, and ſtate matters to the Moon. Hence read we μῆνας ἄγειν πρὸς τὴν σελήνην ἄγειν, to count the Month as they do, who manage politick buſineſſes, or belonging to government. In which courſe they made their year of CCCLIV dayes, which divided into ten parts, make ten times 35, which ſpace each a φυλὴ πρυτανεύει ruled in its turn; the four that abounded were called ἐπαγόμεναι, in which they choſe Magiſtrates, being for that time deſtitute of them. The year thus diſpoſed, the months muſt of neceſſity be πλήρεις καὶ κοῖλοι *cavi & pleni*, as b *Geminus*. Οἱ μὲν πρὸς τὴν πολιτικὴν ἀγωγὴν ὁλοχρέστερον λαμβανόμενοι μηνιαῖον χρόνον εἶναι ἡμερῶν κθ'. ὥστε ἥμισυ γίνεσθαι ἡμερῶν ιδ'. ὅθεν διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν ἡμῖν ἐναλλὰξ ἄγοντα πλήρεις καὶ κοίλους. διὸ τὸ τὴν Σελήνην ἥμισυ ἡμερῶν ιδ' κθ'. If a Month have 29 D. ½. two have 59. Becauſe therefore the two halfes might be made one whole, they ſo ordered it, that now it ſhould be 29 D. then 30 D. The *Athenians* counted their day from the ſetting of the ſun on this day until the going down of the next. In reſpect to which d *Nicander* may be thought to ſay of noon ſleep, — ἀνάπαυσαι δ' ἔνθα, *To take the reſt at the beginning of the even*. I know that the Ancients wrought but ſix hours in the day. e *Martial*, *ſexta quies laſſis ſeptima finis erit*. Which f *Euſtath.* affirmes in his Commentary on *Homer*. And therefore Ζ. Η, Θ. I. were the notes of the 7, 8 9, 10. hours, which joyned make ΖΗΘι, as if they ſhould have ſaid to the laborers, *Reſt*. The beginning of the year was *Hecatombæon*, *July*, the eighth, ſaies h *Petitus* they ever accounted that to be the firſt Month. In which order I have found them ſet down in a i Manuſcript in our publique Library, only *Metacterion* is to be put above *Pyanepſion*.

n Æneid. 10. p. 390.

a Argum. Or. Dem. contra. Androt. p. 380.

b Eſemen. Aſtronom. pag. 31.

c Macrob. l. 1. Sat. c. 3. Plin. nat. hiſt. l. 2. c. 77.

d In Theriac.

e Lib. 4. Ep. 8.

f In Ιλ. ad ἀγαθὸν καὶ νυκτὶ παθέσθαι.

g Caſaub. in Athen. p. 931.

h Chronol. Eclog.

i In 40 num. 24 p. 364.

Roman

Roman.	*Macedon.*	*Hebrew.*	*Egypt.*	*Hellen.*	*Athenian.*
Ianuarius.	Aἰγάεως.	Sabat.	Tybi.	Αὐτραῖος.	Ἑκατομβαιών.
Februarius.	Τρωΐλος.	Adar.	Magalir.	Πεισίγιος.	Μεταγειτνιών.
Martius.	Ἰχθύες.	Nisan.	Pharmuthi.	Δύστρος.	Βοηδρομιών.
Aprilis.	Κεῖος.	Iiar.	Pharmuthi.	Ξανθικός.	Πυανεψιών.
Maius.	Ταῦρος.	Sivan.	Pachon.	Ἀρτεμίσιος.	Μαιμακτηριών.
Iunius.	Δίδυμος.	Thamuz.	Pauni.	Δαίσιος.	Ποσιδεών.
Iulius.	Καρκίνος.	Ab.	Epiphi.	Πάνορος.	Γαμηλιών.
Augustus.	Λέων.	Bul.	Mesori.	Λῶος.	Ἀνθεστηριών.
September.	Παρθένος.	Ethanim.	Thuthi.	Γορπαῖος.	Ἐλαφηβολιών.
October.	Ζυγός.	Marsuan.	Phaophi.	Ὑπερβερεταῖος.	Μουνυχιών.
November.	Σκορπίος.	Chaliz.	Athyri.	Δῖος.	Θαργηλιών.
December.	Τοξότης.	Tibeth.	Choiac.	Ἀπελλαῖος.	Σκιροφοριών.

In which Table, although *Hecatombæon* be compared to the *Julian* Moneth *January*, yet it appears not that *Hecatombæon* was ever so removed out of his place, as *a Petitus* will have it; *Epiphanius* contradicting, of which by and by. Indeed when the Christians in honour of their *Easter* began the year in *April*, they called *April Hecatombæon*; as he *himself Testifies*. But that *Hecatombæon* was alwaies the first Moneth is not probable. For when the *Athenians* under the dominion of *Alexander* the Great's successors, changed the head of the year from *July* to the seventh of *October*, it is like that they began at *Mamacterion* according to this *c* rule.

a Eclog. Chr. p. 41. 14.

b Loco Laud.

c Ex MS. Bibliotheca Bodleiana in 10. n. 8.

Μαιμακτηριών.
Ποσιδεών.
Γαμηλιών.
Ἀνθεστηριών.
Ἐλαφηβολιών.
Μουνυχιών.
Θαργηλιών.
Σκιροφοριών.
Ἑκατομβαιών.
Μεταγειτνιών.
Βοηδρομιών.
Πυανεψιών.

d Vide Petav. in Epiphan. p. 158.

d Certain it is that the ſame *Attick* Months are ſometimes Lunary, & ſometimes not, but of 30. D. or *Julian*; when they are Lunary they have no ſure ſeat, but are now at this time, then at another. And this hath been the reaſon why the ſame Months have not been ſuted to the *Julian*, by writers. *Ulpian* on *Demoſthenes* parallels *Hecatombæon* to e *January*, and in the Oration for *Cteſiphon*, to *March*, and again to f *April*; g *March*, he calls *Boedromion*, which alſo he interprets h *June*. *Elaphebolion*, i *November*, k *September*, (in the Margin *February*) and l *December*. m *Thargelion*. *April*. *Munichion*, *January*. *Scirrophorion*, *March*. Which errors are curſorily noted by n *Petit*. in part, to no great ſatisfaction. But when by the decree of *Auguſtus Cæſar* they were charged to conform their year to the *Julian*, they o thus numbred.

e Pag. 21.
f Pag. 163.
g In Olynth. 3.
h Pag. 148.
i Pag. 140.
k pag. 167.
l Pag. 120.
m Pag. 167.
n Holeg. Chr. l. 1. c. 6. p. 213.
o Vide Petav. in Epiphan.

Menſes Attici.	Menſes Juliani.
Ελαφηβολιών.	*March.*
Μουνιχιών.	*April.*
Θαργηλιών.	*May.*
Σκιροφοριών.	*June.*
Εκατομβαιών.	*July.*
Μεταγειτνιών.	*Auguſt.*
Βοηδρομιών.	*September.*
Μαιμακτηριών.	*October.*
Πυανεψιών.	*November.*
Ποσειδεών.	*December.*
Γαμηλιών.	*January.*
Ανθεστηριών.	*February.*

But of this, ſo much onely. We muſt handle their Lunarie year, becauſe according to them were their feaſts kept. From whence ſometimes they would count, as a ποῖον ἦν ἔτος ἐπὶ Διονυσίων. So much, and as long ſince the *Bacchanals*; ſpeaking of the age of a girle. For a more compendious way of comprehending their holy dayes, view this Almanack.

a Ariſtoph. pag. 806. c.

Hecatombæon, July.

1 Πρώτη ἱσταμένου· Πρυτανεία πρώτη,

2 Τεῖ

2 Τέτη.
3 Τετράς.
4 Πέμπτη.
5 Ἕκτη.
6 Ἑβδόμη * Κάθοδος Θησέως ἐκ Κρήτης. Kept in memorie of the return of *Theseus* out of *Crete*, after he had
7 * Ὀγδόη. slayn the *Minotaure*, b *Plutarch.* The solemnitie c *Ovid* seems to describe: *Nullus Erechthidis*
8 Ἐνάτη. *fertur celebratior illo, Illuxisse dies, &c.* the eight
9 Δεκάτη day of every Month was sacred to him. He had also a festival called *Theseia*, in honour of gathering together the dispersed people of *Attica*.
10 Πρώτη μετὰ δέκα.
11 Δευτέρα. Κυρίας ἐκκλησία δ'.
12 Τρίτη. Κρόνια. Of these, also of the day, speaks d *De-*
13 Τετράς. *mosthenes.* Then did the masters wait on
14 Πέμπτη, their servants, as in the Roman Saturnals, e *L. Accius. Maxima pars Graium Saturno,*
15 * Ἕκτη, *& maximè Athenæ Conficiunt sacra, quæ*
16 Ἑβδόμη. *Cronia esse itenentur ab illis, Cumq; diem cele-*
17 Ὀγδόη. *brant, per agros, urbesque fere omnes Exercent*
18 Ἐνάτη. *epulis læti, famulosque procurant Quisq; suos.*
19 Ἑνάς.
20 Δεκάτη Φθίνοντος. Κυρία ἐκκλησία ϛ'. Hence
21 Ἐνάτη, was this month called by the ancient *Athe-*
22 Ὀγδόη. *nians* Κρόνιος; afterwards *Hecatombæon*, from
23 Ἑβδόμη. ἑκατόμβαια, sacrifices to *Jupiter* or *Apollo*,
24 Ἕκτη. some think with the blood of an hundred
25 Πέμπτη. beasts: For so were they profuse in their
26 Τετράς. sacrifices. f *Ovid Taurorum sanguine centum.*
27 * Τρίτη παναθήναια. g The Scholiast of *Homer*
28 Δευτέρα. fais that *Hecatombe* may
29 Ἕνη καὶ νέα. make up the number of an hundred, ἢ ἐπὶ ἑκατὸν ἱερεύεσθαι, ἢ ὅτι ἐξ ἑκατόμπου ζῴων.

* To *Minerva* the protectress of their citie, as hath been before

b In vit. p. 12. Metamorph. l. 7. Hab. 23. vide illum diligenter: nam erit operæ pretium.
d Pag. 446. contra Timocratem.
e In Annalib. vide Macrob. Sat. l. 1. c. 7. versus finem.
* Then were kept the Maniæ in memorial of their transmigration. Plut. p. 8. l. 9. By some it is termed Ξυροίσια Aristoph. p. 700. Plut. initio Them. l. 12.
f Metamorp. g In Il. a. pag. 6.

before said, instituted by *Theseus*, as *h Plutarch*, ἐξ παναθήναια θυσίαν ἐπέθηκε κοινήν. At first they had the name Δολιχία, by *Erichthonius*, or *Orpheus*. In the time of solemnization there were rare shews exhibited to the people, such as horse races, wrestling, dancing in armour, called πυρρίχη, from *Pyrrhus* that invented it; Then carrying in procession the *Peplus*, or robe, in which was wrought the fight of the Gyants. All which you may read in *i Meursius* at large, and *k Aristophanes* his Scholiast.

h In vita p. 8. lib. 8.

i In Panathenæis.

k Pag. 140 197 180. 281. 167. 580. 650. 746.

The second of this month is called νέα, because it hath but 29 daies, and so alwaies in *cavis*.

Metagitnion August.

From the sacrifices of *Apollo* called Μεταγείτνια.

1 Κυρία. ἐκκλησία γ'.

2

3

4 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ'.

5

6

7 Πρυτανεία δευτέρα.

8

9

10

11

12

13

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16

17 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α'.

18

19

Κυρία ἐκκλησία β'

* *Boedromion.* September.

* *From this Month came the Feaſts* Boedromia *from Theſeus overthrowing the* Amazons. Plut. p. 9 *or Ion helping the Athenians againſt* Eumolpus Βοηθεῖν *to aid becauſe in neceſſity they made a cry.* Ariſtophon. Βοὴν ἔχειν Lucian. ἐπικαλεῖσθαι, Latini *Quiritari hence help came in.*

Νίκη ἐν Πλαταιαῖς. When *Pauſanias* and *Ariſtides* overthrew *Mardonius*, *Xerxes* his General near *Plataea*, a citie of *Baotia*, *a Herodotus*, *b Juſtin.*

Νίκη ἐν Μαραθῶνι. *Miltiades* leader of the *Attick* forces got the upper hand of the *Perſians*. In which battle when *Cynegirus* purſued the flying enemies to their ſhips, he caught hold of one with his right hand, which loſt, he made uſe of his left; that cut off, he in token of his prowess ſpared not his teeth,

Κυρία ἐκκλησία γ'.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία δ'.

§ Χαριστήρια Ἐλευθερίας. to the eternizing of his name for valour againſt his enemies.

* Ἀγυρμὸς Μαστήρια.

§ In thankfulneſs for the delivery of *Greece*, at what time

time *Darius* and his fleet went homeward. *b Aristides* describes the joy at full, and the erecting of an Altar to *Jupiter* that freed them.

* The greater In which they were made *cἐποπται*, or admitted to the sight of that they worshipped. The first day was called ἀγυρμὸς, perhaps from the conflux of the people. The second ἅλαδε μύσαι, because the Crier then warned them to goe to the sea. The third day they sacrificed a Barble, because it devours the sea hare, an enemie to man. The fourth, two Oxen drew a basket representing *Proserpine* gathering flowers, which women following cried χαῖρε Δήμητερ, Hail *Ceres*. The fifth, they rann with torches Hence λαμπαδηδρομία, and λαμπάδων ἁμίλλη. The sixt, *Bacchus* was carried in pomp, hence it is termed Ἴακχος. The seaventh day they exercised in feats of activity, and he that overcame had wheat given him. The 8th was *Epidauria* from *Æsculapius* his comming from *Epidaurus* to *Athens* to be initiated. In the ninth they filled two measures of corn, and setting one at East, and the other at the West, they powred them out, one looking to heaven and crying ὗε the other to the ground, saying, τέκη. Thus *Meursius*. That day was πανσοχία.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία α.

Here I look on Meursius for brevities sake; but if you please to read severally, see Aristoph. Sch. p. 85. 98. 131. 138. 455. 529. 647. 142. 218. 227. 228. 231. 232. 217. 262. 264 516. Aristid. T. 1. p. 323. Clem. Alex. in Protrep. p. 10.

b Tom. 1. p. 157. see Plut. in Arist. p. 241. *c* Sch. Arist. p. 247.

a Sympor. Q. 1. 9. p. 6. & in l. περὶ φιλαδελφείας. p. 331.

b Lib. de doct. Temp. 1. c. 5. p. 11. D.

* Mæmacterion *is to be inserted here.*

The second of this Month was left out ever, saies *a Plutarch*, instead of which some are perswaded, the name onely was omitted, as τετάρτη for τρίτη, which was recompenced by ἐνδεκάτη ὀθόνιον Θ, or ἰσταμένου. As in a defective Month ἑνδεκάτη ὀθόνιον Θ, for the twentieth. Of this judgment is the *b worthy Petavius*.

* *Pyanepsion.* October.

This Month took denomination from the Feasts *Pyanepsia*. For mingling the remainder of their food after their arriving they put it into one pot, and seething it, were jovial altogether at the same.

1

2 Κυρία ἐκκλησία β'.

Πυανέψια. After that *Theseus* had buried his Father, he paid the vow made at *Delos*, to wit, if he returned safe from the death of the *Minotaure*, he would sacrifice unto him a pot of sodden beans. Hence πυανέψια, as it were, κυαμέψια. For the ancients called beanes πύανες.

Ανοδος εἰς τὰ Θεσμοφόρια,

Κυρία ἐκκλησία γ'.

Θεσμοφόρια, *c Plautus* calls this Festival *Vigilia Cereris*, which the *Attick* Dames kept most sober and chast, strowing their beds with *agnus castus* for that purpose, it being an enemy to lust. They prepared themselves with fasting, but after that, took their liquor freely. The number of dayes were three allotted, as some, or four, as others; When *Castellanus* saies that *Ovid* makes them nine, its false, for that was the *Mysteria*, as we above have shewn. They were done in honour to *Ceres*, that gave laws first, as she is termed Δημήτηρ θεσμοφόρος. Of these you may read *d Aristophanes* and his Scholiast.

c In Aul.

d Pag. 611. 770. 782. 783. 819. 820. 829.

Ἀπατούρια Kept this Month. When the Parents brought their children to their Tribes, to be inroled, I suppose for fear of deceit in patrimonies. Then they made merry for four daies. The first was Δορπία. The second Ἀναῤῥύσις. The third Κουρεῶτις. The fourth Ἐπιβδα.

Καλλυστεία. in honour of *Minerva*. *Meursius* teaches us that they were celebrated the 17 of this Month, but *Petitus* hath thus placed them.

f Græcia Feria. l. 1.

Mamacterion November.

This Month is to be placed before *Pyanepsion*, as I have above given notice, but in this Almanack I follow *Petitus*, who so hath set it, though much against the opinion of other learned: as Mr *Selden*, *Petavius*, and others, whom I would have you Reader to accept as for most approved.

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7 Κυρία ἐκκλησία ϛ'.
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16
17 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ'. *Plutarch* in the life of *Aristides*, sayes that the *Bœotians*, nay and *Greeks* send yearly some to sacrifice to
18 the memory of those that died at *Platæa*, and every
19 fifth year they have great pastimes; which *t* he sets
20 down the manner of.
21
22
23 Πρυτανεία. δ'. This Month is derived from *Jupiter Mamactes*: for I suppose they
24 first found Gods, afterwards Festivals to them. Not
25 the Months first, and then named the Gods from
26 them.
27
28
29 *Posideon*

t p. 241.

Posideon December.

From *Neptune*, who is *Posidon*. For the first day of this Month was sacred to him, as *b Casaubon*. Hence he thinks it to be called Ποσειδεὼν ἡμέρα. b In Theoph. Char. ult. p. 336.

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3
4 Κυρία ἐκκλησία.
5 Λήναια. * *Dionysia* τὰ ἐπ' ἀγροῖς, Without the City. It seems when they had gathered in vintage, and pressed their grapes, Λήνη *Torcular*; Then were they most jocund, as may appear out of that
6
7
8 *Like the voyce of them that tread the Wine presse*, and in
9 *c Oppian.* ἐπληνία χαίρειν. On which words *d Vnbadus*
10 *Rittarspusius* takes Λωναῶν to be *January*. c Κυνηγ. α. vers. 127. d Pagina. 18
11
12
13 Κυρία ἐκκλησία β'.
14
15
16 Ἀλῶα. A Feast to *Ceres*. The day doubtful. *e Democlis.* e Pag. 743.
17
18
19
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21
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23 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ'.
24
25
26 Κυρία ἐκκλησία.

Πρυτανεία. ε'.

Gamelion January.

From the Marriages first made by *Cecrops*, of whom before we have spoken, and more you may read in *Tzetzes* on *Lycophron*. That Month wherein this people coupled, hence is called *Gamelion*, from γάμος, *nuptiæ*. It is sacred to *Juno*, Who by the Poets is called *Pronuba* and *conjugalis*, President of Weddings and the Marriage bed.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α'.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β'.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ'.

Antiqui-

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ'.

Πρυταν εία ζ'.

Ἀνθεστήρια. Kept in great mirth for three daies in the honour of *Bacchus*. The first πιθοίγια from πίθος the tubs, and οἴγειν to open, for at the broaching of their vessels they drunk stiffely. The second χόες from *Chus*, a good capacious vessel. In this he that could drink down the rest of his companions had a golden crown. The third χύτροι, I suppose different from χύτροι. From this festival the month is named. The twelfth of which *Dionysia* in *Lymnis* were kept, called μεγάλα & ἀρχαῖσται: The 13th were acted Comœdies begun the 3d year of the 93 Olympiad, when *Callias* was *Archon*. But after they were taught as *a Donat* and *b Ulpian* witness, and *c Aristophanes*, ὅτι πάλαι σωτρέχει ἐπιθυμεῖν τὰ καινὰ δέξασθαι βλέπειν, saies one

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. ϛ'.

Of this you may see Aristoph. p. 293. 417 419. 422. 222.

a The day was called χύτροι likewise, but not in the sense speken.

a In Terent. pag. 289.

b In Demost. pag. 184.

c Pag. 143.

Elaphebolion March.

1
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3
4 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ'.
5
6
7 Θυσία Ασκληπίων Κυρία ἐκκλησία δ'.
8
9
10 Πρυτανεία ε'.
11
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13
14
15
16 Διονύσια τὰ καλ' ἄστυ. Of these c *Æschines* makes mention, & you shall have them obvious every where in Greek Authors.
17
18
19
20 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α'.
21
22
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28
29 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. ϛ'.

c Contra Ctesiphon.

Munichion April

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4

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α΄.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α΄.

Μουνύχια πρυτανεία ἑνδέκη. *Munychia* were observed to *Diana*, who was so called and had a temple in *Munychia*, by *Athens*. The month bears the name. In this month * Δικάσια. were the causes of strangers adjudged. *a Arist. Sc.* * To *Jupiter Meilichius* The greatest day that the *Attick* rout was kept in. See this *b Aristophanes* and *c Eustathius*.

a Avid. p. 60.
b Pag. 150, 174.
c Istnc. & Istm. l. 5.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α΄.

Thargelion May.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. ϛ'.

Θαργήλια. To *Apollo* and *Diana*; holding it to be their nativitie. On this day did they expiate for the sins of the people. For they were wont to nourish some base men, and of no account, at the publick charge, whom in time of pestilence, or the like, they sacrificed for the sins of the Citie; two in number, saies the *a Scholiast* of *Aristophanes*; whence they were called Σημάσιοι: but more properly καθάρματα & φαρμακοί *b Aristophanes*.

a In Equites pag. 353.

b In Ranis.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία δ'.

Βενδίδεια. To *Diana*, who by the *Thracians* is named Bendis.

Παναθήναια μικρά. Not much different from the greater. See *Meursius*.

Καλλυντήρια. Πρυτανεία. ί.

Πλυντήρια. *Petitus* places it on the 24 day, others will have the 25. To *Minerva*, on which they take off the ornaments of her statue, and wash it I suppose, *c Plutarch*, *d Xenophon*.

c Pag. 152. d Ἑλλην. ά. p. 257.

Scirrophorion June.

Σκίρα To *Minerva* from *Σκίρον*, a Canopie, under which her Priests did walk in pomp at that time: or from the statue of *Minerva* found in *Scirus* [c] *Schol. Aristoph.*

Βυφόνια. It was not lawful anciently to kill an Oxe: wherefore when one had seen that beast eating the meal provided for the Sacrifice, he slew him and fled, in memory of which this day was kept. Afterwards they did mitigate the Law, and gave licence to butcher an Oxe, so that he was not for the plough. To which [d] *Juvenal* may allude. *Ut vetulus bos* [c] Pag. 497. 725

Qui domini cultris tenue & miserabile collum Prabet, ab invito jam fastiditus aratro. [d] Satyr. 12. ver. 268.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ'.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ'.

Πρυτανεία ἡ φυλὴ πρώτη, &c.

Where *Petitus* makes the four first Tribes to govern each his day, on those four that abounded above the year, *Sigonius* seems to agree, and * *Manutius* approves it. Neither is it misliked by * *Petavius*. * *Scaliger* hath falsely taught us otherwise, who maketh each *Prytaneia* to rule 36 daies, which none are ever to have done, except the first four.

* Athen. Rep. l. 2. c. 3.
* In notis ad Harpocra.
De Doct. emp. l. 2. c. 1.
* De emend Temp. l. 1.

CAP. XI.

De Tragœdia, Satyra, & Comœdia.

[a] Vid. Can. Chron. ad Gr. Ephoch. Mar. Arund. p. 97.

IT is taken for granted among the Ancients, that *Homer* who lived [a] 907 years before Christ, was the first that taught

taught *b* τραγικῶς λέγειν, to ſpeak in Tragœdy, comprehending great and many matters in few words and very conciſely, being more large and uſing circumlocutions in matters of leſs conſequence, which *Hermogenes* acknowledges to be the property of a Tragœdian. This foundation being laid, following ages ſtill built (though rudely) a ſtructure to ſmall perfection. *Nam poſt illius tale tantumq; documentum, &c* ſays *c Donat.* For after that *Homer* by the Iliads had repreſented a Tragœdie, by the *Odyſſes* a Comœdy, moſt ingenious imitators took thoſe Poems and ſet them in order, and divided them, which at that time were inconſiderately & without judgment written, impoliſht and in the firſt rudiments not ſo neat and trim, as in proceſs of time they were made. For Poeſie was a great while in her minority, and very rude, after the firſt publiſhing of Plays. For we ſee little or nothing of *d Suſarion*, the firſt Comœdian, worth our time: ſome few verſes onely, and ſo few as may but witneſs ſuch an Author. The original of the word Comœdy is ſuppoſed to be taken from divers reaſons: Firſt, becauſe in their revelling, kept in honour to *Bacchus*, they ſung them, and ſo it may be derived from κῶμος *comeſſatio*; *e* κωμάζειν, ſignifying ἐν οἴνῳ ἁδειν, to ſing baſely at the cup. Secondly, from κῶμα, ſleep, becauſe when any of the *Attick* husbandmen had been injured, it was the cuſtome (as before hath been ſpoken) for the party abuſed, to come in the night ſeaſon into the ſtreets, and with a loud voice cry, ſuch and ſuch rejoyce in wrong, commit ſome outrages, though there be Gods and Laws. And after that proclaimed the parties name, who on the morrow was ſought out by the husbandmen and much ſhamed; by which theſe wrongs were redreſſed. Thirdly from κῶμη, a ſtreet, becauſe when the old *Athenians* would note a wicked mans life out to the world, meeting merily in the ſtreets and high ways, they layd open, every mans life, and concealed not his name, *f In vicos & compita ex omnibus locis læti, alacresque veniebant: ubique cum nominibus ſingulorum vitam publicabant.* Theſe verſes were firſt ſung *g* in the green Meddows, *h* about the beginning of the ſpring; When the husbandmen kept the Feſtivals of *Bacchus*

b Hermog. de Eloq. Meth. p. 561. c. 33. Euſtath in Præf. ad Iliad.

c Tract. de Trag. & Com. Præfat. Terentio.

d Marmo. Arund & ad ea Seld. CL. Præfixa etiam Ariſtoph. περὶ κώμῳδ.

e Sch. in Nuz. utel. C. d. 106.

f Donatus Tra. & Com.
g Idem ibid.
h In Synopſi. vitæ Ariſtop. Th. Magiſter.

Bacchus the God of Wine, to whom they sacrificed a Goat, because his biting is an enemy to the Vine; the skin of which they took and sowed up close, filled with wine, and anointed it with oyle to make it slippery, and so hopped with one leg upon it, making themselves laughter at the falls they often took. This sport they call ἀσκωλιάζειν from ἀσκὸς a skin and ἅλλεσθαι, to leap. *i Aristophanes.* Ἀσκωλιάζ' ἐστὶ δῆτα τοῖς ἄνω θεοῖς τοῦτ' αἰσχρόν. *k Virgil* hath fitly set it out.

Non aliam ob culpam Baccho super omnibus aris
Caditur, & veteres ineunt proscennia ludi:
Præmiaque, l ingentes Pagos, & compita circum
Theseidæ posuêre: atque inter pocula læti
Mollibus in pratis, unctos saliêre per utres.

i Plut. p. 108.

k Geor. 2.

l Isa. Tzetzes in Proleg. ad Poetas. interpretes κώμας, μέσα χωρία.

After *Susarion*, sprang up *Thespis*, the first that made Tragœdies, which by *Horace* are termed *Lacrymosa Poemata*, sad Poems, because they represent humane miseries, the misfortunes of Kings and great men especially, there being no place for a poor man, but only to dance, as *m Arrian* hath observed. Which thing gave an occasion to *n Socrates*, when he saw the most worthy and rich put to death under the thirty Tyrants, to say to *Antisthenes*, doth it not repent thee that we in our lives never did some famous exploit? So in Tragœdies we mark that such as *Atreus*, *Thyestes*, and *Agamemnon* are slain; but what Poet was yet so impudent as to bring a base fellow on the stage sacrificed? Nor supernumerary is that of *Euripides* for *K. Archelaus*, desiring that he would write a Tragœdy of him, who prayed that nothing proper to a Tragœdy might happen to him; meaning sorrow and lamentation. For so is τραγῳδία used, as ὁ κωμῳδία for joy and mirth, and glee conceits. The first Tragœdy that *Thespis* taught, was that of *Alcestis* reprieving her husband from death by her own, as *p* Mr *Selden* hath conjectured. This *Thespis* was forbidden by *Solon* to act his Tragœdies, as *q* ἀνωφελῆ ψεύδη λέγειν, a fruitless lying. *Horace* of him thus speaks.

m In Epictet. pag. 95.

n Ælian. Var. l. 2. c. 11.

Ignotum tragicæ genus invenisse Camœnæ
Dicitur, & plaustris vexisse poëmata Thespis;
Quæ canerent agerentque peruncti fœcibus ora.

o Athen. l. 3. p. 90.

p Ad Marm. Arund.

q Laert. in Solone p. 40.

Upon which words some have written, that his Poems were

ſo voluminous, that he was conſtrained to bring them upon wains. But alas, a poor conceit! r *Franciſcus Lubinus Vitenſis* is of opinion, That *Theſpis* carried his ſcene upon carres, and *Acron*, That the *Chorus* carried about in Waines acted Tragœdies. *Chori plauſtris circumducti Tragœdias agebant.* ſ I avouch that at the firſt the Poets acted alone their own Fables. And to me it ſeems a ground for to ſtand on, the Greek Authors by the word ὑποκριτὴς, intimating a Poet. Οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ὑποκριτὰς, &c. The ancients, ſaies t *Ulpian*, called the Poets *Hypocritas*, *actors*, which we now term *Tragœdi*, ſuch as *Euripides*, *Ariſtophanes*, &c. The place in which they ſung their Poems, was a ſcene upon a Wain drawn in Proceſſion to the honour of their God *Bacchus*, as among the *Greeks* the cuſtomes was ſays the Scholiaſt of *Nazianzen*. Of the manner in thoſe ancient times, u *Plutarch* ſhall thus inform you. Ἀμφορεὺς οἴνου καὶ κλῆμα, &c. A pot of wine and a vine twig, then one drawing a Goat, next another with a basket of figs, and laſt of all the *Phallus*, In which Solemnity the Poets in Wains following the pomp, might without controul laugh, ſcorn, and deride any they met, ſaies x *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus*, or were wont, as the y Schol. of *Nazian.* to rayl upon each other. Whence κωμῳδεῖν, is as much as to convitiate impudently, (though in good ſence ſometimes z to celebrate the pomp, or go in proceſſion in honour to the feſtival) and a κωμῳδία, a ſcandal or reproach, ὕβεις, λοιδορία. Whence likewiſe came the Greek proverb, b ἐκ τοῦ ἁμάξης λαλεῖν, *tanquam ex plauſtro loqui*, and ἐκ τοῦ ἁμάξης ὑβρίζειν *tanquam ex plauſtro convitiari*, to give reins to the tongue, to be free in abuſe. Which that they might do the better without ſhame, or bluſhing, ſometimes would they anoint their faces *amurca*, *olei face*, with the dregs of oyl, ſaies *Donat.* or of wine (for ſo I interpret τρύγα) from which Poets by d *Ariſtophanes* are called τρυγοδαίμονες. *Horace. Permulſi faciebus ora.* Sometimes would they put on vizards, e which leaſt they ſhould hurt the head were defended from the skin with a woolled cap named μίτρα. A word elegantly uſed by *Demoſthenes*, in a Metaphor drawn from the liberty and impunitie of the perſons

r In Horatii poetic.

ſ Schol. Ariſt. p. 142.

t In Demoſt. p. 40.

u Stel. 6. p. 107. περὶ φιλοπλ. p. 345.

x Antiq Rom. l. 7.

y Loco laud.

z Hermog. Meth de Eloquentia, c. 2. p. 519.

a Dem. pro Coron. p. 134.

b Schol. Ariſt. p. 142.

c Ulpian in loc. cit. Dem.

d Nubibus p. 141.

e Ulpian in Dem. p. 254.

f De falſa Legatione.

ſion that wrote it, Οὐκ ἴσθι ὅπως ἀφεὶς πλημμελήσεις τοῦτο ποιήσας· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς. Think not to eſcape ſcot-free for ſuch villanie, though you get a *Pilum* on your head. We may apply it in threatning to any ſlanderer of whom we ſurely intend to be revenged. But I ſeem to forget the Poet, while I ſpeak of the ſtage, I will therefore return to him. *Theſpis*, as I ſaid, was the firſt that invented Tragœdies; ſo called, as *Donat.* tels becauſe (leaſt there ſhould be rewards wanting, by which good wits might be ſtirred up to write, and men encouraged to get them tunable voices *ad dulcedinem commendationis*) they gave the Actors a Goat. *Caper namque pro dono hîc dabatur.* τράγος is a Goat, and ᾠδὴ a ſong. *Horace*, *Carmine qui Tragico vilem certavit ob hircum.* Before that time ſome ſay that *Epigenes* the *Sicyonian* made Tragœdies but the moſt received opinion is this which *Horace* hath ſet down of *Theſpis*. Before him there was no art of poeſie Tragical, but at their feſtivals, when they aſcribed all their mirth and delight to their Gods, they did eſpecially to *Bacchus* (and ſo afterward, when the Actors are called Διονύσου τεχνῖται, and τεχνῖται, ſimply by *Demoſthenes*, by *Donat. Artifices*. The word is uſed for Juglers, and ſuch as *Hoka Pokus* in *Theophraſtus*) they would feaſt ond afterwards ſcoff and deride each other, which grew afterward a part of their ſolemnitie. They would moreover dance at rude Muſick, & from thence ſuppoſe they the *Chorus* to have ſpung up. They would likewiſe caſt forth αὐτοσχεδιάσματα as they term them, in *Virgils* language, *verſus incomptos*, k *Numeros innumeros eo tempore fundi ſolitos & ſine arte*. For they had of old but two ſorts of verſes, *Heroicks*, in which they ſung the praiſe of Gods and Noble men, & from this in a ſhort time with ſmall care grew a Tragœdie; the other ſort was *Iambicks* as toying & laſcivious as the *Phallica*, but biting too, & from hence came a Comœdie. At firſt ſmall was the difference between a Tragœdie and Comœdie *l conſtat ſanè primis temporibus ignoratum fuiſſe diſcrimen inter Tragœdiam & Comœdiam*, and the reaſon is becauſe even Tragœdies had their wantonneſs and petulancie. At firſt they ſung in honour

g Orat. περὶ στεφ. p. 242.
b Charact. v. Caſaub.
i Georg. 2.
k Caſaub. de Sat. Poeſi. l. 2.
l Caſaub. ib.

nour to *Bacchus Dithyrambicks*, and afterwards neglecting him they praised their Demi-gods, which when the people saw they cryed down, with Οὐδὲν πρὸς Διόνυσον, whence our proverbial adverbis fitly used ἀπροσδιονύσως, for nothing to the purpose. But to give content to the people, the satyrs did *praeludere*. But after that, when a Tragœdie took state they excluded the Satyrs, and were only for sad and serious persons, by which mournful poems the people were wont to be cast down, symphathizing with the person represented, therefore to cheer them up a *Chorus* of wanton Satyrs were brought in by *Thespis* as *m Horace*.

m De arte Poet.

Mox etiam agrestes Satyros nudavit. & asper
Incolumi gravitate, jocum tentavit, eò quod
Illecebris erat, & gratâ novitate morandus
Spectator, functusque sacris, & potus, & exlex.

In a Satyrick play, Satyrs have a *Chorus* place, or else the persons are Satyrick and ridiculous, and for the easing of the mindes of the spectators, they would bring in Satyrs for sports sake, and many of their Tragœdies had some mixture of Satyrick sport, saies n *Casaubon*. *Fuisse aliquando pluribus Tragicis Dramatis interjectas Satyricas fabulas*. Of this I say *Thespis* was the first inventer; who likewise to ease the *Chorus* (*o* for that acted only) brought one actor upon the stage. to whom *Æschylus* added one, and *Sophocles* another, so the number was three, *Æschylus* is δευτεραγωνιστὴς, *Sophocles* is τριταγωνιστὴς, a word put for an obscure & base fellow in *p Demosthenes*, *Ulpian*, ὡς ἀδοκιμώτατος καὶ ὑποκριτής, speaking of *Æschines*, if I remember, *Tully* cals them Actors *secundarum & tertiarum partium*. *b Ut in actoribus Græcis fieri videmus sæpe illum qui secundarum & tertiarum partium, cum possit aliquanto clariùs dicere quàm ipse primarum, multum summittere, ut ille princeps quàm maximè excellat*. But let me speak what I have to say of a Tragœdie. *a* None was permitted once to act *Æschylus*, *Enripides*, or *Sophocles* his Tragœdies, but they were to be recited by the Scribe, that the actors might (as I conceive) repeat them. Τὸν δὲ πολλοὺς γεγραμμένα παράγραφον ὄντα πῆ ἀναπαυομένους, ἐκ τοῦ ἔξωθεν αὐτοὺς ἀναπεί-

n p. 126. Sat. Poesi.

o Laert. p. 220.

p 184.

q In divinat

a Plutarch. in vita X. Rhet. p. 452. B.

πιδαι.

ναθηναι. And to this purpose by a law of *Lycurgus* the Orator, were they commanded to be transcribed, and kept under custodie δημοσιᾳ. Yet the *b* Author of the life of *Æschylus* writes that the people made a decree, that he should receive such a summe of gold, that would διδάσκειν the plaies of *Æschylus after* his death. I put the word διδάσκειν, *docere*. Because Tragœdians as well as the Comœdians were said οἱ διδάσκαλοι τῶν ποιητῶν ἐργάζεσθαι, to labour in teaching the people. And for this end did the ancients lay out so much mony upon their Theaters. *c Sed immane quas quantosque sumptus, in Theatra, in Comœdiarum ac Tragœdiarum repræsentationem fecerit antiquitas. Cum non mores tantum ab utrisque emendari, & prudentiam conferri, sed & scripta antiquissima & formas Reipublicæ, ac vitam magistratuum, cum summo spectatorum fructu, in Comœdia examinari, fictiones componi, ac gravissima subinde publico suppeditari crederent consilia.* Not unfitly therefore did the Poet reply to the people that carped at him in the Theatre, *I came hither to teach you, and not to be taught by you.* Hence of a Tragœdie or Comœdie the Greek writers say, ἡ διδασκομένη *docetur fabula*, and διδάσκειν, *docere*, as sometime διδάσκεσθαι, as you may see in *e Athenæus*. The following Poets did not alwaies represent their own Fables, but oft-times their predecessors: so saies *f Quintilian*, the people permitted the work of *Æschylus* to be desk with, because in many places his verses were not set in order. He brought great grace to the stage, and first taught σκηνογραφίαν the painting of the Scenes, which some think *Horace* to aim at, when he saies, *Modicis instravit pulpita fœnis.* Which because it was perfected by *Sophocles*, is thought (nay spoken affirmatively by some) to have been invented by him. *Sophocles* indeed did πολλὰ καινοτομεῖν, bring in many new things: such as leaving out the action of the Poet (for before the Poet himself acted) by reason of the badness of his own voice, he found out white shooes which the Actors and Dauncers wore; he made the number of Dancers fifteen, before but twelve; he fitted likewise his Tragœdies to the natures of the Actors, &c. But that he invented σκηνογραφίαν I cannot find. Some-

b Juxta finem

c Heinsius Prolegom. ad Aristarchum Srcum.

d Athenæus Dip. lib. 6. pag. 268. vid. Casaub. *e* pag. 270. *f* Lib. 10.

g T. Magister. what likewise was added by *Euripides*, are to set out the Argument of the Fable in the beginning of the Tragedies, as you may observe, leading the Auditor, as it were, by the hand to the last and principle point of that one action which he would represent, which by the glory of our nation *h* Sr *Phil: Sidney* is not past by as frivolous, without noting. These three were the Princes of the Tragick stile, who exhibited to the People every year at some certain solemnities their Poems, striving who should get the victory by the approbation of Judges, chosen for that purpose, called *i* Δικασται εφοροι, and *k* Κριται εκ Δωδεκα, Ten in number, think some at first, gathering out of *Plutarch*, in the life of *Cimon*, authority for it. Because when he had brought the Reliques of *Theseus* out of *Syrus*, *Aphepsion* the *Archon*, in gratulation to him, chose not the Judges as soon as the Theatre was filled, and spectators placed: but presently after *Cimon* entred the Theatre with nine more of his fellow Captains, of each Tribe one, after accustomed sacrifice he swore them Judges, who gave the victory to *Sophocles*, but then young, for which *Æschylus* grieving went into *Sicilie*, where he died, and was buried near *l Gelas*. But out of this place we cannot prove that the number of these Critick Judges was always ten. This we acknowledge done in testimony of high acceptation of *Cimons* service. And yet in judgment upon Tragedians, the number might be so great. For there seems to be a difference between the Judges of Tragedies and Comedies. The number of Tragick Judges, grant we haply to be such as we speak, the power incontrolable, as from whom there was no appeal to other. *m* Καὶ ταυτην προνομιαν εἰχον, ουτε ἀπ' ἀλλων τινων ἐφεσιν ἐχειν, ουτε αὐτοις ἀλλους δικαστας, ἀρχοντας ἑτερους ἐπιτιθεναι δυνασθαι. The Comick Judges were in number but five, from whence came the Greek proverb, *n* Ἐν πεντε κριταις. *Sub quinque Judicibus lis est.* The *o* Scholiast of *Aristophanes* speaks somewhat uncertain. Judges, quoth he, pass censures upon the Comedians, and they who had five voices were happy. That were all. For if there had been ten of them too, it would have made nothing to the Poets victory to have had equal voices. For the odd gave a great stroak. Hence wishes the

h *In the defence of Poesie.*

i Heinsius in Proleg. ad Aristophanem sacrum. k Æschines cont. Ctesiph.

l Plut. Cimone p. 352. l. 39.

m Heinsius loco laudato.

n Zenobius.

o Ad Aves, p. 562.

the Chorus in the behalf of the Poet — Ἐπὶ πρώτην ἄγειν τὸν ποιητὴν, to be Victor by one voice onely. Another difference is that, whereas the Tragick Judges had free liberty of suffrages beyond the power of the people, the Comick had not: For when *Aristophanes* taught his Νεφέλας, they so much took the people, that they applauded the Poet, cried him up Conquerour, καὶ πρώτιστον τοῖς κριταῖς ἀνηγόρευσαν Ἀριστοφάνη, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἄλλον γενέσθαι, saies *p Ælian*, and commanded the Judges to write *Aristophanes* uppermost (as the faction was, which *q Aristophanes* calls πρωτεῖον τῆς νικητηρίου, the most excellent first, the next to him second, and the next to him third (which was no small praise, according to that of *Quintilian*, as I remember, *Honestum est in secundis tertiisve consistere*) and no other. For which cause I suppose the Poets before reciting, were wont to sacrifice, and pray for the favour of the Judges and spectatours, *r Aristophan.*

p Var. H. l. 2.
q Avid. p. 562.
r Loco laud.

Ὄνυμ' ἐπ' ἔτους πᾶς πρὸ τοῦ κριταῖς
Καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς πᾶσι — Where the Scholiast interprets ὄμνυμι truly as it is to be understood, ἱκετεύω, to supplicate. And good reason, For if they pleased not the people in reciting, they were overwhelmed with stones. To which use *s Aristophanes* points, saying, — οὐκ ἐβάλοντο; nay, sometimes would they hiss them, which they term κλάζειν and συρίττειν. Sometime stamp them out of the Theatre, which they call πόρτας τῶν by *t Pollux* interpreted ἐξώλεις τοῖς πόρταις ἐξαπατῶσι. Another difference is that *u* the Comick Judges were punished if they judged not right, the *Tragick* not so. And for these reasons have some conjectured, nay positively writeen, that their Judges were of two sorts, old and new; in which matter, if there be place for a conjecture, mine is, that they confounded both, making no oddes Betweeu the Critick Judges of Tragœdies, and Comœdies: But of this, Reader, you may determine as your authors shall afford authority. Before Judges, as I said, the Poets in emulation presented their labours, & they who in their opinion lost the day, were said *ἐκπίπτειν, by *x Casaubon* interpreted *non stare*. The time of exhibiting their Tragœdies, were the holy daies of *Bacchus*, called *Dionysia in*

s Ranis pag. 428.
t Lib. 6. c. 38.
u Æschines contra Ctesiph. pag. 98.
* Heinsius Prolegom.
x Sat. Poes.

Agris, or *Lenæa*, in the month *Poſideon*, on the *Antheſteria*, or *Dionyſia in Limnis*, in the month *Antheſterion*; or *Dionyſia in urbe*, in the month *Elaphebolion*, to which I find added the *Panathenæa* by *Thraſylus* in *y Laertius*, which ſome deny; yet the ſame write, that when *Sophocles* exhibited but one, it was at this feſtival. I ſay but one, becauſe it was a cuſtome among the Poets of ancient dayes to entertain their people with more playes then one. *Mos autem Tragicorum Græcorum fuit Athenis, ut modò ſingulas committerent fabulas, modò plures*, ſayes *z Cauſaubon*: ſometime in the ſame year three, and then was it called τριλογία; ſometimes four, and then they ſtilled it τετραλογία; *a* Τὰς τέτταρα δράματα ἐκαλοῦντο ΤΕΤΡΑΛΟΓΙΑ. Whereof ſayes mine Author, the fourth was a Satyrical play, the three other now treating of the fortunes of one and the ſame man, as thoſe of *Æſchylus*, named therefore *Oreſtia*; to wit, Ἀγαμέμνων. Χοηφόροι. Εὐμενίδες. Which are all extant; the fourth was *Proteus Satyricus*. At other times they were not of the ſame ſubject, as that of *Euripides*. *Medea. Philoctetes. Dictys*. The fourth was Θερισταί, ſayes the Author of the argument to *Medea*. Where the interpreter ſeems to me not to reach to the expreſſion of the Greek word Θερισταί, Σάτυροι; *Meſſores, Satyros*; he ought to have rendred it thus, *Meſſores, Drama Satyricum*. For that the word bears this ſenſe is ſufficiently dilucidated by *b Caſaubon*. That the greateſt task of action lay on the *Chorus* is as apparent as the Sun at noon. The number of them in Comœdies were twenty four, and ſix *juga* (each *jugum* conſiſting of four; but στοῖχοι four, each στοῖχος ſix men) in Tragœdies fifty; until the time of *Æſchylus* his *Eumenides*, the number of which ſo terrified the people, *c* that the children and younger ſort fainted, and the women ſuffered abortion; for which reaſon, ſaies *Pollux*, the number was leſſened (which ſome deny) by law. They were by that Act brought to fifteen, five *juga*: I ſay *juga*, becauſe they were divided into στοίχους, and ζυγά. Ζυγὰ was when the *Chorus* entred by three, and then it was called κατὰ ζυγὰ πρόσωπον, by file. Στοῖχον, when they came on the ſtage in ranck five at a time; and this they term κατὰ στοίχους. Sometimes one of them

y Platone dag. 220.

z De Satyrica Poeſi p. 131.

a Laertius loco citato.

b Lib. laudat.

c Author vitæ Æſchyl.

them entred alone, which they say κατ' ἐπεισόδια. Of interlocutors the ancients for the moſt part never had above three; but if a fourth ſpake, that they named παραχορήγημα; and if the *Chorus* ſupplyed the part of a fourth Actor, it was ſtiled παρεπιλώριον. To ſpeak of the ſeveral verſes of Tragœdies, is *actum agere*: and I had rather ſpeak of the action, than the art in compoſing, and yet not much, only this of their motions, termed στροφαὶ and ἀντιστροφαί. Στροφὴ, ſays the Scholiaſt of *Pindar*, is a turning from the right hand to the left, in Analogie to the motion of the univerſe τῆ πανὶ, from the *Eaſt* to the *Weſt*; becauſe *Homer* calls the *Eaſt* the right hand, the *Weſt* the left: Contrary to the *Hebrews*, who term the *South Iamin*, which ſignifies the right hand, and the *North* they counted the left. Ἀντιστροφὴ was a turning from the *Weſt* to the *Eaſt*, that is, from the left hand to the right, as the Planets move. Another poſture they had in their *Epodes*, for (if it be ſo in Tragœdies, as in Lyrick Muſick, which I believe) to expreſs the immobility of the earth they ſtood ſtill. They uſed *Epodes* for the moſt part at the end of the Acts, when the players avoided the ſtage. Thus much of Tragœdies; the authors of which were highly of old eſteemed of; inſomuch as after the diſmal diſcomfeit of the *d Athenians* in *Sicilie*, they were relieved, who could repeat ſomewhat of *Euripides*. Nay, by a law made by *e Licurgus*, and eſtabliſhed in *Athens*, *Æſchylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides* had Statues erected in braſs for the continuation of their memory. After Tragœdies had proceeded to perfection, Comœdies were with great applauſe taught, as *f Horace*,

Succeſſit vetus his Comœdia, non ſine multâ
Laude —

He ſays, *vetus Comœdia*, becauſe a Comœdy was divided into three, or if you pleaſe ſo to ſpeak, two ſorts, the Old, and New. I ſaid three ſorts, becauſe " the old was different from it ſelf. The meaning is, that the old Comœdy, of which *Suſarion* (by ſome named *Sannyrion*,) was Author, tended only to laughter, being without order and decency. For the *Chorus* now walking, now dancing about the ſmoaking Altars, ſung *ſimplex carmen*, ſome naked verſes, ſayes *Donat.* Which

d Plut. in fine vitæ Niciæ.

e Plut. in vit. x. Rhet. Pauſ. Attiis. p. 18.

f De arte Poetica.

" Grammat. ὁ Παλαιὰ ἑαυτῆς διαφέρει.

by

by *Cratinus* was redreſſed; for he ordained three Actors, & mingled with his ſport profit, I mean for inſtruction. For under the *Democracy* it was lawfull to exagitate and propoſe for a laughing ſtock Captains and corrupt Judges, Citizens given to bribery, and ſuch as lead a diſolute life; naming the men upon the ſtage, and fitting the Actors with vizards bearig the ſhape of thoſe whom they intend to deride. But as the ſtate grew to an *Oligarchie*, that licence was taken away, *Eupolis* being caſt into the ſea by thoſe againſt whom he wrote his Comœdie *Baptæ*, and ſo drowned. Nay, there was a law enacted not [a] ἐνομασὶ Κωμῳδεῖν, to name any whom they wrote the Comœdie of. Of which *Horace*,

[a] Hermog. Partiti. p. 76.

Sed in vitium libertas excidit, & vim
Dignam lege regi. Lex eſt accepta, Chorusque
Turpiter obticuit ſublato jure nocendi.

But when *Alexander* of *Macedon* grew potent and a terror to *Greece*, the Poets fearing leaſt any of their abuſive wit might diſpleaſe the great *Macedonian*, they changed the Argument of their plaies, and inſteed of abuſing ſtates & people they fell upon ancient Poems, or ſome part of Hiſtorie not truly written, perſonating the Actors ſo as to be moſt ridiculous; [b] ſometimes Scoffing on the ſtage at mean men, & this they termed Νέα Κωμῳδία, the new Comœdie. But afterward it was a piece of their *Athenian* policie to forbid that the people ſhould be toſſed on the ſtage, unleſs they would themſelves, ſaies [c] *Xenophon*; knowing that none were wont to be brought thither but the wealthier ſort, πλούσιοι, δυνατοὶ. Some are of opinion that no player came on the ſtage until thirtie or fortie; I diſpute not the matter; ſure I am that *Sophocles* taught his firſt Tragœdie at twenty eight, in which doubtleſs himſelf came on the Stage. It being among the *Athenians* no diſgrace, as the *Romans* accounted it, to appear there. [d] *Æmilius Probus*, *In ſcenam verò prodire, & populo eſſe ſpectaculo nemini in eiſdem gentibus* (Græcis) *fuiſſe turpitudini e quæ omnia apud nos partim infamiæ, partim humilia, atque ab honeſtate remota, ponuntur.* The place where the people beheld theſe plaies & paſtimes was in the market place, where

[b] Donat. Generaliter ad omnes homines qui mediocribus fortunis agunt, &c.

[c] Athen. Rep.

[d] Præfatione ad vitas p. 2.

Meurſ. Att. Lect. l. 4. c. ult.

where they nayled scaffolds to a black poplar tree: For in ancient time they had no Theatre of stone, only of wood, which they call ἰκρία. f *Aristophanes.*

—Ἀπὸ τῶν ἰκρίων
Τραῦλίζειν ἡμᾶς—

f Thesmoph. pag. 787.

These were built by some, who upon some consideration of mony admitted any to a seat, named therefore g Θεατρῶναι. Once it seems places were not hired. But there grew great enormities and abuses. For striving to get places, there rose wrangling and brawles, and fights wherefore the *Attick* Senate ordained that each place should be hired for two *oboli* (in the Consulship of *Diophantus*, a *Drachme*, say some, whence rose the Proverb, Δραχμὴ χαλκοῦν; because at the establishing of it, there fell bail) This mony they called Θεωρικὸν, from θεωρεῖν: because with it they did θέας ἀγοράζειν, buy a seat to behold the shew exhibited. Now because the poor people had not to give, & so were deprived of the spectacle, *Pericles* desiring to be popular, made a law that they should receive out of the Cities revenues two *oboli* each man, i For the right of exacting wch mony, they were to produce the authority of the *Lexiarchial Rolles*, as appears out of *Demosthenes*. For the distribution of this were certain officers appointed named οἱ ἐπὶ θεωρικοῖς. But afterwards *Apollodorus* strove that in warr and publick necessity, these summes might be imployed in military affaires, but he endeavoured in vain: *Eubulus* in flattery to the people, enacting it capital for any that should attempt that which *Apollodorus* did; Which makes k *Demosthenes* desist, willing, yet not daring to perswade to convert the mony to the use of the Armie. But see the folly of them, l For they spent as much on these sports, as in obtaining the masterie, & libertie of *Greece*. And the end was unsufferable: for they became effœminate, and so put their necks under the *Macedonian* yoak. m *Justin* of the death of *Epaminondas*. *Siquidem amisso, quem æmulari consueverant, cupidine corpore mque resoluti, non ut olim in stadium exercitationis, sed in dies festos, apparatusque ludorum, reditus publicos effundunt: & cum alterius nobilissimi, pecuniæque theatra*

g Casaub. in Theoph. p. 245.

h Zenobius.

i Conr. Leocha. p. 671. n. 50. 51.

k Olynth. 1. pag. 7.

l Lacon apud Plut. Mor. p. 421.

m Lib. 6 fine.

atra celebrant, frequentiùs ſcenam, quàm caſtra viſentes. Verſificatores Oratoreſque meliores, quam duces laudantes. Tunc vectigal publicum, quo antea milites & remiges alebantur, cum urbano populo dividi cœptum eſt. Quibus rebus effectum eſt, ut inter otia Græcorum, ſordidum & obſcurum antea, Macedonum nomen emergeret, &c. Of the Theatre I will ſay little, as alſo of the ſtage: only that the places in the Theatre were not promiſcuous. For there was a diſtinction between the Senators and younger ſort. The Senators were named *n* Συνδικοὶ, among which it is probable the Judges had the firſt place, as *o Pollux*. The ſeats for the youth were called Ἐφηβικοὶ. One part of the ſtage was *Orcheſtra*, in which was Θυμέλη, either a Tribunal, or an Altar. That upon all their ſtages there was an Altar ſacred to *Bacchus*, is apparent out of *Donat.* he ſaies it ſtood on the ſide of the ſtage, before the doors, *Pollux*: who names it Λαιὸς. There was moreover a Table called Ἐλλὼς, on which before the time of *Theſpis* ſome body aſcending in the Poets place, did anſwer the *Chorus*. *p Plutarch* thinks Θέατρον to be derived from Θεὰ; becauſe that before the building of Theaters the ancients embracing *Muſick* only for inſtitution of youth and praiſe of their Gods, ſung the commendation of good men, and honour of their Deities in Temples.

n Ariſtoph: Pag. 578.
o Lib. 4. c. 19. p. 202.
p De Muſica. p. 442.

LIBER TERTIVS.

CAP. I.

De Legum latoribus Atticis, Νόμοι, ἄγραφοι & ἔγγραφοι. *Ἀφετῶται. Πεσβύλαι. De ſanciendis Legibus.*

a Lib. 2. p. 27.

AS *a Juſtin* hath been too forward in relating the mutation of the *Athenian* government paſſing by the perpetual and decennial Conſuls, and naming only the yearly: ſo hath he erred in the original of their

their Laws, making *Solon* the father of them. But it seems otherwise. For, as *b Gerardus* hath observed, *Theseus* gave Laws to the *Athenians*. And *c Plutarch* witnesseth, that when he congregated the *Attick People*, and constituted a *Democratie*, he reserved only to himself the government of war and custodie of the Laws. Δημοκρατίαν (πεποίηκεν) αὐτὸς μόνον ἄρχων πολέμου καὶ νόμων φύλακας προσαποδείξας. Add to this, that before the knowledg of letters and writing, it was a custome among the ancients to sing their Laws, lest they might forget them, used in the daies of *d Aristotle* by the *Agathyrsi*, a people near to the *Scythians*. Whence afterwards the rules of Musick, for the true keeping of time, singing, and playing, are supposed to be called Νόμοι. Neither may it be thought otherwise, because all the notes of the *e Lydian, Hypolydian*, &c. *Dorick, Hypodorick*, &c. *Phrygian, Hypophrygian, Ionick*, &c. songs, were distinguished by the Alphabet. yet *f Plutarch* is of opinion, that they derived the word from those bounds, which the Musicians of old prescribed, for the tuning of voices or instruments, least they might be confounded; and therefore he calls it οἰκείαν τάσιν. *g Idem.* Νόμοι καὶ προσωνομάσθησαν, ἐπειδὴ ἐν ἐξεσῶ παραδείγματα τεθέντος τετηρημένος ἦσαν ὁ τόνος. The *Greeks*, sayes *h Cicero*, think the cause of this word, *jus suum cuique tribuendo*, intimating νέμειν, which signifies to distribute, because the Law gives every man his due. Thus we see, that there were Laws of yore, let *i Justin* say, *Nulla civitati leges tunc erant, quia libido regum pro legibus habebatur*: That the City was without Law, because the wills of Kings were Laws. In succeeding ages, and before *Solon* too, *Draco* gave Laws; living about the three *k* hundred and ninth *Olympiad*. His Acts sayes *l Ælian*, were called Θεσμοί. Ἐκάλουν δ' ἐκεῖνοι θεσμοί. Now θεσμὸς, by *m Ulpian* is interpreted νόμου παραγγελτικοῦ, πῶς δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς νόμους. A Law giving in precept how to make a Law. And yet *n Aristotle* calls them νόμους, giving them this commendation, that they are not worth remembrance, but for their great severity. Which gave occasion to *a Herodotus* to say, that they were meere Laws of man, ἀνθρωπήϊοι; in a double sense

b Arist. Plut. pag. 67.
c In Theseo p. 8. l. 2.
d Problem. τμῆμ. κϛ. κϐ. fol. 189. b.
e Vide Alypium in Isagoge Musica.
f In libro de Musica.
g Loco citato p. 437.
h De leg. lib. 1. fol. 16. b.
i Loco laud.
k Clem. Alex. p. 226.
l Variæ hist. l. 8. c. 10.
m Argorat. conr. Lepei.
n Polit. 2. c. 12.
a Arist. Rhet. l. 2. c. 24.

of the word, which is also put for a Dragon. And *b Demades* that they were not written with black, but blood: For he punished every peccadillo almost with death. Those that were convicted of idleness, or stealing of pot-herbs, alike to the sacrilegious and man slayers. Wherefore they were made of none effect by *Solon*. For he abrogated all, except those which concerned murther, intituled ΘΟΝΙΚΟΙ ΝΟΜΟΙ. Him succeeded * *Solon*, a man so well tempered, and equal betwixt the Commons and the Peers, that he was beloved of both, having still a care, lest while he should side with one, he might displease the other. Whom, for his uprightness, *c Juvenal* stiles *Justum*, and for the care of the Republique, which *d Demosthenes* averres he had in all his Laws, *e Aristophanes* terms φιλόδημον, a lover of the people. *f Plato* brings him learning his Laws from a *Barbarian*: And *g Plutarch* tells us that he travelled afterwards into *Ægypt*. But it seems by *h Ammianus Marcellinus*, that in the making of his Laws he had the approbation and judgment of the *Ægyptian* Priests. *Et Solon adjutus sententiis Ægypti Sacerdotum, latis juste moderamine legibus, Romano quoque Juri maximum addidit firmamentum.* *i Diodorus Siculus* relates two things brought from thence to the *Athenians* by him. First, that all the *Ægyptians* were compelled to bring to the Governours of the countries their names written, and by what means they sustained themselves; wherein if any were found false, or that lived by unjust again, he fell into danger of life. Secondly, it was a custome among them, that payment should be made only with the goods of the debtor, and that the body should not suffer. For they thought the estate alone to be subject to the creditor, the body addicted to the Cities in which they lived. Neither is it fit that Souldiers, who were to undergo hazard for their country, should for a fury be committed to Prison, or the Country be in jeopardy for the avarice of some one man. Which induced *Solon* to make the first decree, as *k Laertius*, and *l Plutarch* says of freeing the bodies, which, if there were not wherewithall to satisfie the craving loaner, were compelled to serve. He therefore suc-

effi

b Plut. in Solone p. 63. l. 2.
* Demosth. p. 70.
* *His laws continued* 100. *years, saies* Plutarch *in* Strength. In Solone pag. 66. *and afterwards by little and little decayed.* Ælian, Var hist. l. 2. c. 22. *If any spoke against them, he had corporal punishment.*
c Sat. 10. vers. 274.
d Κατὰ Λεπτ. p. 390.
e pag. 190.
f In Timæo.
g In Solone. p. 66. l. 31.
h Lib. 31.
i Bibliotheca.
k In vita Solone.
l In Solone. p. 62. l. 8.

off all uſe, *a* as ſome write, or elſe leſſened the burthen of it; making it more moderate by his Law Σεισάχθεια: ſo called from σείειν, to ſhake off and ἄχθος, an heavy weight. Forgiving himſelf firſt, *c* as *Laertius*, ſeven talents; or, as *d Plutarch*, five. But this ſeems to have been done for the avoiding of the aſperſion caſt upon him as acceſſary to the injuries of ſome, who having an inkling of his intent, borrowed much mony with hope of never making reſtitution. *e Caſaubon* is conceited, that this was not his firſt exploit, but long after he had ſate at the Stern of the Weale-publick. Yet it ſeems probable; There being no more compendious way to make a man popular, than to give liberty to the common *people*. Which he, to bring in an innovation of Laws, did willingly invent; and they afterwards lovingly accepted. For in teſtimony of their approbation, they kept a Feſtival named *f* Σεισάχθεια. Here likewiſe you may obſerve the ancient flattery of the *Athenians* towards their own vices, putting gilded names on thoſe things, which themſelves were aſhamed of, calling *g* πότας, ἑταίρας. πόρνας, συνουσίας. συλλογὰς ἑταιρικὰς ἀνθρώπων, *Inquamdam elenum*, as our blades name drunkenneſſe, good fellowſhip, whores, ſhe ſinners, and niggardiſe, thriftineſſe; ſpringing from this root of *Solons*, who called χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς, Σεισάχθειαν. *h* To theſe Laws two ends were propoſed, mutuall commerce, and direction of behaviour towards the ſtate. *i* To curb wickedneſs, and unjuſtice, and to puniſh offenders that they might be bettered. And although they were the ordinances of *Draco* and *Solon*, yet may we fitly call them the *Athenian* Civil Law. Each City, as *k Juſtinian* teaches, giving a denomination unto her Statutes. *Nam ſi quis velit Solonis vel Dracenis leges appellare jus civile Athenienſium, non erraverit.* They were ingraven in Tables of wood, called *l* ἄξονες, triangular, if we may believe the *m* Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes*, who quotes *Ariſtotle* and *Apollodorus*, witneſſing that they were called κύρβεις alſo ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀνατετάσθαι, from the elevation, ſome are of opinion that the Rites pertaining to the Gods and their worſhip were written in the *Cyrbes*, and Laws belonging to men

a Plut. p. 62.
b Androtio.
c Loco laud.
d Pag. 62. *Piſtum ſays* Polyzetus Rhodius.
e In Laert. p. 14.
f Plut. p. 62. l. 43.
g Plutarch. loco laudato
h Demoſth. p. 477.
i Idem p. 484.
k Inſtitut. l. 1. Tit. 2. Sed jus quidem civile. ex unaquaque civitate appellatur, veluti Athenienſium.
l Sch. Apollo. Rho. Arg. 4.
m In Avibus p. 694.

men is the *Axones*. *Apollodorus* sayes that all decrees are called *Cyrbes*, because they were written in stone, and so set up, *a* which from their standing, were termed στῆλαι. I know that decrees, merits, praise and dispraise too, were written in stone: Whence *b* λίθος στηλιτευτικὸς may be put for a Treatise tending to a mans disgrace. But this by the way. These Tables were kept in the *Acropolis*, translated after wards to the *Prytaneum* by *Ephialtes*, where to the dayes of *c Plutarch*, some reliques of them were to be seen. The *Autographon* or copy written with his own hand was not removed, but those that were transcribed by them. Because in matters of doubt and controversie they might have recourse unto them. *For the distinction of which, some think that ὁ ἐν πρυτανείῳ νόμος is used in *Demosthenes* for that in the *Prytaneum*. Others for the Law in the lower part of the Table; but to me it seems improbable, for then the number of the Table ought to be cited; and indeed, one Table sometimes could not contain a Law. For we read in *d Plutarch*, that the eighth Law was cut in the thirteenth Table. I am not averse from the guess of *Petitus*, who supposes the Orator to mean the Law which afterwards he quotes; nor ignorant of the Opinion of some, who think that it is to be understood of the under line. For the Laws being written βουστροφηδὸν, *conversò sive retrogrado literarum ordine*, saies *e Sylburgius*; which *f Pausanias* explains, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς ἐπὶ δεξιᾶν, from the right hand to the left, *g* or more significantly, Ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου τῶν ἀνακτόρων ἐπιπλέει ὁ ἐπὶ τὸν δεύτερον ὡσανεὶ ἐς πλάκα δρόμος. When the second verse begins at the end of the former, as in the race which they call *Diaulus*, or if I shall speak nearest to the word, as husbandmen turn their Oxen when they plough, as for example.

ΕΚ ΔΙΟΣ Α ρ- ΥΘΕΗωΥΧ

See those that have written of diverse wayes of writing. They therefore take the lower, that is turned ὁ ἐν πρυτανείῳ νόμος. After this manner were the Laws written, and doubtless there were some customes as strong as Laws. For although the *Lacedæmonians* governed by tradition of custome, and the *Athenians* by written statutes, as *h Josephus*; yet surely had their

αὖθις στίχους.

b Vide Nonnum in Nαζ. στηλιτ. α.

c In Solone p. 66.

*Pollux. l. 8. p. 408.

d Solone p. 63. l. 37.

e In Pausaniam p. 426.
f In Eliacis p. 174.
g Eodem lib. p. 165.

b Contra Appionem. Vide Justinian. Just. l. 1. tit. 2.

their customes great force, insomuch as *i Aristophanes* uses νόμος for ὄρος — Λίχαι νόμοι κρατοῦσιν. *a Scholiast.* νόμοι τῶν ἀπαίτων ἢ γεγραμμένον ἐστὶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἔθος. So did the *b Greeks* divide their Laws into ἔγγραφους καὶ ἀγράφους, written and unwritten. The unwritten, *sine scripto jus venit, quod usus approbavit*, use. The *c* Interpreter of *Sophocles* thus: Νόμος ἐστὶν ἔγγραφος συνθῆκαι, συνήθεια δ' ἄγραφος νόμος. A law is a written custome, and a custome an unwritten law. Besides these there were decrees, which they termed ψηφίσματα, *psephismata*, a word used by *d Cicero*, nothing different, ψηφισμάτων ἰσχὺν δυνάμιν τε νόμου. *e Demosthenes*, who means in vertue and power. For they differ much: *f* A Law maintains justice once found, common for ever. A *Psephisma* follows the necessity of the time, it differs in events: it directs not warlick affairs, but is applyed unto the occasion of arms, and as laws can be abrogated, so decrees changed. And here ought we to note, *g* that no decree is greater than a law. Of decrees there were two sorts; *h* τὰ τῆς βουλῆς ψηφίσματα, such as the Senate by it self established, which were but of twelve months continuance; to the confirming of which, the people were not convocated, or their consent required, termed *i* προβουλεύματα, which *Demosthenes* proves to be ἰδιώτια. *Ulpian.* ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς. Like to the edicts of the Roman Prætors which lasted but a year. *k Cicero. Qui plurimum tribunos edicto Prætoris edictum legem annuam esse dicunt.* In other decrees the opinion and good liking of the people was asked, for the giving of the authority unto them, which endured in force a longer time *l* τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῆς βουλῆς μόνον, καὶ πλείονα μῆνα κύρους. And therefore we may easily know a *probuleuma*. Ἐδοξε τῇ βουλῇ only gives us to wit, that it is a *probuleuma* from a decree of the peoples confirming by this observation. Ἐδοξε τῷ δήμῳ in the beginning of a decree, shews it to be ψήφισμα τοῦ δήμου κυρίου καὶ βεβαίου. The Senate alwaies sate in consultation about that which was to be enacted, whether any damage might accrew to the State by it or no; the Law commanding that no decree should go forth without deliberation, μηδὲν ψήφισμα μὴ εἰσφέρειν εἰς τὸν δῆμον. Which done

i In Avibus pag. 576.
a Pag. 577.
b Vide Justinianum.
c In Alacem Locarium.
d In Orat. pro Flacco.
e Cont. Lept. p. 296.
f Aristides. Tom. 2. p. 30.
g Demosth. p. 416.
h Demosth. κατὰ Λεπτ. p. 418.
i Ulpian loco laudato.
k In Verr. 1.
l Ulp. in Arg. Orat. And. p. 181. Vipe Dem. p. 182. n. 10.
m 1. Plut. Solone. pag. 63. l. 31.

done the *Prytanes* took certain tables and wrote on them *Such or such a day about such a time, there should be an assembly to consult of these and these affairs*: and this they called a προγραφὴ. When then they were assembled, and the people purified, the decree was read; which if the people allowed of, stood: if not, decayed. It was forbidden that any should raze out a Decree of any Table. And he was brought in question of life, who should presume in making a decree to pretend a fallacie. Now because future time might haply perceive some inconveniencies to arise by oversight in the Law-giver, and that as abuses should happen, which in his daies were not discerned, so there would be a necessity of making new statutes: It was ordained therefore that every year there should be ἐπιχειροτονία νόμων; which *b Ulpian* expounds διόρθωσιν, ἢ τοῦ δεῖν ποιεῖν τινὰ νόμον. A consideration of what ought to be done concerning the Laws. *c* The manner was thus. Every eleventh day of *July* in the assembly, after the Cryer had made his Prayers, as the fashion was, & shall anon be spoken of, the Laws were read over in order. First those which concerned their Senate, next their weal publick, and thirdly the nine *Archons*; & afterwards the other Magistrates. Then was it demanded if there were Laws enough for the Senate, and so for the Common-weal, &c. If any of the Laws in force were to be abrogated, is was adjourned until the last of the three daies of the three *Convocations*; on which the *Prytanes*, appointed for the reviſing and reciting of the Laws, were to take the matter in hand. The *Proedri* chief of the Assembly, were to *d* acquaint them with it. Five men at the first meeting, were chosen out of all the *Athenians*, who should patronize the Law to be abolished; and according to the Judgement of the *Nomothetæ*, chosen out of the Council of five hundred, was the business carried; that the Laws should be of none effect, or full strength. Whosoever would bring in a new Law, was to write it on a Table *e* εἰς λεύκωμα, *Demosth.* the form thereof, and set it up at the Statues of the *Heroes* before spoken of, *f* πρὸς τοῖς ἐπωνύμοις, which standing in a place conspicuous, that some certain daies

a Sch. in Naz. ad. 4. pag. 55. vid. Ulp. in Dem. p. 240.

b Demosth. pag. 445.
c Vid. Dem. loco cit.

d χρηματίζειν Demosth. Ulp. expounds ἀναβιβάζειν. to report.

e Cont. Timocr. p. 446.
f Demosth. p. 297.

dates before the Sessions, any Citizen might read what were to be handled, and if any so pleased, he might at the proposal of the Law, declare his mind either for or against it, as at the preferring of *a Bill in our high Court of Parliament*, where it is not denyed any *Burges*, or *Knight* of a shire, to speak his opinion *pro* or *con*, either for any whole Bill, or some part thereof, or in opposition to it, or some one clause. Provided likewise that he who attempted to enact a new Statute, should take care for the disanulling of the old, that might contradict it; otherwise he came within the compass of παρανομίων γραφῆς, a writ of *Transgression of the Laws*: which was of two sorts. First, when time is not observed in writing them, ἀοδὲ ἐπιταδίου χρόνου. Next when one is made that's adverse to a former. And if it so hapned, that any perswaded the people to make a Law that was not commodious to the weale-publick, he might be questioned within a *b* years space, *c* but if the time was expired, he could not. *d* Nay they slew *Eudemus*, a *Cydathenian*, for bringing in a Law they liked not; scarce different in that one example from the *Locri*, among whom he that would propose a Law should do it, his neck adorned with a halter, that if his requests pleased not, he straightway powred out his soul under the hands of the hangman. Their Orators which are called *e* δημαγωγοὶ, because they lead the people with their Rhetorick and flattery, wrote Laws and decrees, as we learn out of *f Demosthenes*, and therefore are they deciphered by *g Athenæus*, οἱ λέγοντες καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα γράφοντες.

a Vlp. in Dem. p. 297.

b Dem. Orat. Arg. con. Lep.

c Dem. p. 419.

d Id. p. 468.

e Gellius l. 3. c. 13. If. Callistratus Athenis Orator fuit, quos illi, δημαγωγοὺς appellant. Livie. Dec. 4. of Athens ubi Oratio plurimum pollet favore multitudinis alitur. Vlpian. δημαγωγὸς ὁ δήμου ἄρχων.

f Pag. 468. n. 225.

g Dipnos. l. 12.

CAP. III.

De Comitiis. Κυρία ἐκκλησία *&* Σύγκλητος *&* Ἐκκλησία, *&c.*

THE Assemblies were called by the *Prytanes* four times in five and thirty dayes. *f* In the first they confirmed the Magistrates in their offices, if all things were managed well by them, otherwise they put them out: They heard publick causes, looked into confiscate goods, and possessions left

f Pollux. l. 8. c. 9. Sect. 7. pag. 398.

leſs by ſubſtituends in the ſecond, any one with leave might freely ſpeak of private and publick affaires. In the third they gave audience to Ambaſſadors, who before ought to deliver their letters to the *Prytanes*. In the fourth, they treated of holy things, ſuch as belonged to their Gods & worſhip of them. The firſt meeting was the eleventh day of the *Prytania*; the ſecond the twentieth; the third the thirtieth; the fourth the three and thirtieth. I find a difference between the *g* Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes*, and *Ulpian*, in the daies on which they came together; one making the firſt day of the Month, to be the day on which the firſt Aſſembly was, the other the eleventh of the *Prytanea*, which ſeems trueſt. And whereas they both write that every Month there were three lawful aſſemblies, to wit, on the firſt, tenth, or thirteenth, or tenth, twentieth, thirtieth; we are not ſo to reckon them, but according to the *Prytanea*, it being the *Prytanes* charge to congregate the people. They ſeem to have been called Κυρίαι Ἐκκλησίαι because in them they did κυρῶν ἀποίσειν, eſtabliſh decrees, as the *a* Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes*. Other aſſemblies there were which are termed *b* σύγκλητοι, when war, or any ſudden accident troubled the State, then the people were called together over & above thoſe four times in a *Prytanea*. They are ſtyled σύγκλητοι, becauſe the people of their own accord met on the other daies; but when they would have a Convocation ſome went about the City and called them. There is likewiſe *c* κατακλησία, when they were ſummoned out of the fields to go to the Aſſembly. It ſeems to me that the Crier in the ſtreets on their lawful aſſemblies gave ſome token when they ſhould haſten; and ſo much *d Ariſtophanes* witneſſes, bringing in the women ſpeaking that it is high time to be ſtirring, becauſe the Cryer δὶς τὸν κεκλακὼς, had cryed the ſecond time. And indeed need was there of ſome warning, and compulſion too, for ſo ſlow were they in coming to Aſſemblies, that the *Legiſtæ* were fain to thong them to the meetings, as the Schol. of *Ariſtophanes* on theſe words, Τὸν δ' ἱμάντα ἐν ἀγορᾷ. Sometimes they took a rope, and dying it with red earth, they ſent two ſlaves into the market place,

g In Achar. pag. 371.
b In Dem. p. 445.
a In Acharn.
b Ulp. & Sch. Ariſt. loc. laud.
c Pol. p. 405.
d In concionantib. pag. 745.
e In Achar. p. 486.

place, who should one on the one side of the way, & the other of the opposite, pursue the people, and to whose chance it fell to be marked with the paint, paid a certain piece of money. Hence in the *f* Comedian — κἄτω κἄνω τὸ χορτον εὐ γυοι τὸ μιμλτωμένον. Up and down they shun the cord stained with Vermilion. And again — μιλτος ἃ Ζεῦ εἴλατε γέλων πορίσας ἦν ὠσπέρμενον κύκλῳ. *Jupiter*, the red earth which slew about made laughter. *g* Sometimes would they take hurdles, and barracado all the streets except those that led to the *Ecclesia* Sometimes take away all their saleable wares which they brought into the Market, lest people intent on their traffique should absent themselves from the Assemblies. When they had met, oft-times the company would be dismissed at some prodigious signe, as thunder, lightning, tempest, and the like, which they called *h* Διοσημεία: *i* and earthquakes, or other occasions, deferring the Assemblies meeting, until the next day. When they were come together, and the Senate ready to sit, one man Sacrificed; which rites were called *a* Εἰσιτήρια, because they were done at the *entry of the Councel*, *b Ulpian.* ὠσπερεὶ τῳ χοιρίῳ τὸ βουλὴν ἁγνίσαι τῆς θυσίας πεποιῆσθαι. I will not justly say that it was the purification made with a young pig, before the bench was sate, and yet I may presume to averre it; the Grammarian that interprets *c Aristophanes* witnessing that immediatly preceding the Sessions this custome was observed by one, whom they named καθάρσιον, from καθαίρω, τὸ καθαίρειν, which signifies cleansing, because by that he purged the Assembly, Theatre, and congress of the people. After they were sate, *d* the Cryer did pray for the good of the people, *e* and cursed those who should offer to deceive the Senate or People. After this, he speaks with a *loud* voice *f* τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται; Who will make a speech? whereupon one of the *g* Elders arose who gave his verdict: It being not permitted, to any to utter his opinion, before the reverend hoary head had spent his judgment. Whence by *h Demosthenes* they are stiled οἱ εἰωθότες, those that were wont to orate. After they had finished their saying, others had leave to declare themselves. Neither must we omit the fashions they had

f Aristoph. Achar. p. 371

g Schol. Arist. loco laudato.

h Vide Arist. p. 379.

i Plut. p. 386. l. 7. & 384. l. 34.

a Demosth. & Vide p. 242.

b Vide & Ulpian. p. 351.

c In Concion. p. 728. A.

d Demosth. p. 213.

e Id. p. 418.

f Alcidamas Aristoph. p. 372. Diod. Sic. l. 15.

g Demosth. p. 29. Æschines contra Cresiphontem initio.

h Philip. 1.

bad to exclude all private men from their Assemblies, sometimes when the Senate alone sate, or the *Areopagitical* counsel; sometimes to debar all servants, strangers, and men deprived of their liberties from their convents, which at other times they admitted, and then was it called *i* πανδημὸν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὸ θέατρον, an open Theatre to all comers. The place of meeting was called Πνὺξ, *Pnyx, ἀπὸ τοῦ πυκνοὺς ἄνδρας εἶναι αὐτῆς*; from the frequent concourse of people there. It stood on a rock and therefore by *Aristophanes* is called πέτρα. 345 Sch. ὄρνιθ. 998. There was a stipend for them that came to the Assemblies, as you may see in *Demosth. Contra Timoc.* And ἀφ' ἡσυχίας βουλεύσασθαι. Because they might be at leasure without damage. *Arist. Pol.* 1. *c* 13. They assembled also in *Piræus*, *Ulp. in dem.*

i Plut. p. 552. l. 11. 17.

CAP. III. SECT. I.

De Tribunalibus Atticis, & primum de Senatu Πεντακοσίων.

WHen the mutiny between the Faction of *Megacles* and *Cylo* disturbed the *Attick* Commonwealth, *Solon* perswaded the people that those, whom for their audacity in drawing away the suppliants from the Altars, they named ἐνόχους, should undergoe judgement; there were chosen *k* three hundred men ἐκ τιμημάτων, according to their *worth* to sit upon the case. But these were not a perpetual judicatory. For when the people murmured at the cutting off of the usury money, then was the grand Councel ordained, out of every Tribe, (which were then but four) were an hundred chosen, who by their advice should direct the people in those things which were to be handled, lest any thing should be inducted, or proposed to the Assembly without due consideration. Who from their office in a *Democracy* in *Aristotle* sayes, *m* are more properly called βουλὴ, but where the Root rules, Βασ. But when *Cleisthenes*, (who by *Plutarch* is termed ὁ καταλύσας τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν) had augmented the number of the

k Plut. Solone pag. 60. l. 31.

m Polit. l. 6. c. 8.

Tribes from four to ten, eighty six years after *Solon's* Laws were received, he made the number five hundred, taking fifty of every Tribe, which doubled ten times, make up the ſumme. This Councel by *Ariſtotle* is deſcribed ἡ βελὴ κυρία πάντων. *The Miſtreſs of all the reſt*, and I am not of opinion that ἡ ἐπὶ Βουλῇ in *a Plutarch* is to be underſtood of the *Areopagus*, as if that were aboue the Senate, but as inſtituted firſt by *Solon*, and ſo related by the Author. And yet I know *b* one writes, *Tam dignitate, fama, quàm officio, ſecundum poſt Areopagitas locum obtinuere.* To this Councel none was choſen under thirty years of age; which time is ſtiled Βουλὴ παῖδων ἡλικία by *c Libanius*. And doubtleſs *d Plutarch* juſtifies it, ſpeaking that *Demoſthenes* wrote his Oration againſt *Androtion*, *Timocrates*, *Ariſtocrates*, ὅπως τῆς πολιτείας μεγαλυνθείς, when he had not attained to the managing of ſtate buſineſs, becauſe he wanted two or three of thirty years. Agreeing to this is *e Junius*, who ſayes that *Solon* admitted none very young, though very Wiſe, to Magiſtracy or Counceil. Nay the *f* Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes* tells us, that green heads were not permitted to ſpeak publickly. The Law prohibiting any to attempt it under forty, or as ſome ſay (which is trueſt) thirty, on theſe words.

Καὶ γὰρ παρὰ τὸν νόμον λέγει, καὶ ἐξὸν πω μοι τεθνᾶν.

Which to be otherwiſe underſtood by ſome, is not hidden from me. They were called likewiſe Ἡλιαῖοι, as well as Ἡλιαστικοὶ, and their Tribunal Ἡλιαία, from the word *g* ἁλίζεσθαι, which ſignifies to throng together, becauſe the people were frequent there. But the more probable reaſon is, *h* διὰ τὸ ὕπαιθρον εἶναι καὶ τόπον καὶ ἥλιον ἔχειν ἐπιφαινόμενον, becauſe the place was open and expoſed to the Sun. And in reſpect of this *i Ariſtophanes* makes that cold conceit branded by *Didymus*, Ἕως μὲν ἐστ' ὄρθριος ἁλιάσεως μέσης Ἡλίου. *In the morning when ſhall* ἡλιάζειν in the Sun-ſhine. At their admiſſion they had this Oath given them. *k* Ψηφιοῦμαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, &c. *I will give Sentence according to the Laws and Decrees of the People of Athens, and Counceil of five hundred, I will not conſent to be a Tyrant, to bring in an Oligarchy: Neither ſhall my appreheſion*

a In Solon. p. 63.

b Poſſardus: falſe, for Pauſanias calls it μεγίστην. in Att. p. 27. l. 15.

c In Argorat. cont. Androt.

d Vita decem Rhet. p. 378.

e Stobæus ſerm. 112.

f In nub. p. 147.

g Vlp. in Dem. p. 445.

h Vlp. loc. laud. vide & Ariſtoph. Sch. pag. 436.

i Pag. 486.

k Dem Orat. cont. Tim.

be it any that shall dissolve the Democracy of Athens *by speech or Decree. I will not cut off private use, or suffer any division of the Athenian Land or Houses. I will not bring back exil'd Men, or those that are condemned. I will not thrust out of the City any innocent, against the Laws, and Statutes of the Athenians, and Senate of five hundred; neither by my self, or suffer any other. I will not create a Magistrate, who hath not given an account of his former Office, whether the nine Archons, or Agents for the holy things, or they, who at the same day are chosen with the nine Archons by lot, Ambassadors and Assistants. Neither shall the same Man bear the same Office twice, or two in one Year. I will not take Gifts for Judgment, neither my self or others for me, or others with my privacy, by fraud or deceit. I am not younger than thirty. I will hear both Parties, the Accuser and Defendant alike. I will pass Judgment aright on the thing prosecuted. If I swear by* Jupiter, Neptune, Ceres. * There is also another Oath which they took, some Clauses whereof, we have left in Record. *To ratifie the Laws of* Solon. Plutarch *in* Solone, *pag.* 62. *To give Counsel for the best of the People. To advise according to the Laws. I will not bind any* Athenian *who shall give three sureties of the same Revenues, unless for Treason, or he conspire the subversion of State popular, or buy Custome, or be engaged, or gather publick Money and not pay it. I will sit in that order which lot shall direct me to, I will not permit any unless banished, to be accused or imprisoned for what is past.* This last was made after the driving out of the 30 Tyrants, when [a] *Terasybulus* gave them to Oath μὴ μνησικακήσειν, not to remember ancient wrongs, which they call ἀμνηστία. The Authority of this Councel was great, for it handled causes of War, Tributes, making of Laws, civil businesses & events, affairs of Confederates, collections of Mony, performance of sacred Rites, accounts of Offices discharged, appointing Keepers for Prisoners and συμβολὰ of Orphans, as *Xenophon*. [b] Resembling our Court of Parliament in *England*, by whose consent all Laws are abrogated, new made, right and possessions of private men changed, forms of Religion established, Subsidies, Tails, Taxes, and impositions appointed, Weights & Measures altered.

* *If I transgress any of these, let me and my house perish; but if I faithfully keep them according to my oath, let us be happy and prosperous.* Dem. p. 470.

[a] Vid. Xeno. in Ἑλλην. Cic. init. Phil. 1. Velleium Paterculum. l. 2. p. 84. Arist. Schol. in Ἀν. Æsch. cont. Ctesiph.

[b] Athen. pag. 407. See Sir. Tho. Smith *in the Commonwealth of England.*

altered. *&c.* As not unlicke also the *Venetian Gran Consiglie*, or Senate of which the *Contarene*. d *Tutta la cura del Governo della Republica appertiene al Senato, &c.* The whole manner of the Common wealths Government belongeth to the Senate. That which the Senate determineth is held for ratified and inviolable. By their Authority and Rule is Peace confirmed and War denounced. The whole rents and receipts of the Common wealth at their appointment collected & gathered in, and likewise lay'd out again and defrayed, *&c.* In a word I may say of the Five hundred, as *Budæus* of the Parliament of *France*: *Amplissimam eam curiam, causarumque omne genus disceptatricem justam ac legitimam esse*; that that Court was most ample, and justly, and equally decided all sort of Controversies whatsoever. *b* To their charge was committed the making of new Ships, for which at the years end they were to be rewarded by the People. To this alludes *c Aristophanes*. Ποδαπὸ τὸ γὼ & ΕΥ. χὠν ἀνὴρ τελῇς αἰκμή. ΒΠ. Μῶν Ηλιαστής — *d* without their consent could the people do naught, as indeed they made not any thing *Sanctum* against the Peoples wills. Hence in *e Demosthenes*, ἢ βουλὴ ποιήσαντος τὸ δῆμα κυρίαν. In testimony of their preheminence are they termed *f* Κύριοι ψήφων. and οἱ ἀνωτέρω. The Lords of Sentence. In time of Warr they would send Commissions to their Captains, as they thought requisite. *h* Such as in the battle between the *Lacedæmonians* and their Country men in *Tanagra*, where fearing left *Cimon*, banished by *Ostracisme*, should betray them to the *Laconians*, they sent to the Commanders not to entertain him in the Army. This honour was not during term of life, but every year changed. *Apostolius*. ἦν δὲ πεντακοσίων καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν χληρωτὴ βουλή. Which *Anonymus in Arg. Orat. contra Androt.* expresses by κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν διεκλήρου. The manner of choosing them is this *i* The chief of every Tribe on an appointed day before the beginning of the Month *Hecatombæon*, brought the names of all their Tribe that was capable of this dignitie, and cast them written into a vessel, and into another they put an hundred white beans, and all the rest black; Then drawing out.

d *As* Erancchirio Andreæ *hath translated it.* lib. 3. fol. 34. B.

a In Pandect. Prio. p. 258.

b Dem. p. 385.

c Avid. p. 546.

d Sch. Arist. p. 93.

e Pag. 234.

f Demosth. mei Αλλό.

g Idem κατὰ Μειδίε.

h Plut. in Cimone. p. 356. l. 50.

i Verbo Emnius in Descript. Reip. Athen.

out a Name, and then a Bean, to whose chance the white Bean fell to be extracted with his Name, was designed Senator. This they did when they had but four Tribes, and so four hundred Senators. But when they had tenn Tribes, there could be but fifty white Beans, to the making up of the tenth part of five hundred. This differs not from the election observed by the *k Venetians* upon the fourth day of *Decemb.* when the names of all the young men that have not by lot obtained the right of Citizens, nor passed 25 years old, are put into a pot, and carryed unto the Prince, and there the same set before the Councellors, with whom there is an other pot, wherein are round balls equall with the number of the names written with the first, every one having his marks; the fift part of these balls is guilded with gold, the rest with silver. The Prince taketh out of the first pot the ball, which if it be of the golden sort, the young man whose name is drawn is presently admitted to publick authority; they to whom the silver chance, lose it for that time, expecting it the ensuing year; unless in the mean space they accomplish twenty five, at which age all the young Noble men partake of the Cities liberties. So every year the fift part of the yongsters is chosen to give voice with the other Citizens. The use in choosing I deem the same, and shall untill I find authentick Writers contradict it. But the number, as augmented by *Clisthenes* according to their Tribes; so by his successors. For when they added two, the number was encreased an hundred, by reason of the Tribes *Antigonis* & *Demetrias*; after named *Attalis* & *Ptolemais*, in honour to the Kings of that name which were Benefactors to the State; *a* ὅθεν καὶ ἑκατὸν πλείονες ἦσαν, ἑξακόσιοι ἐπίνουν, *b* Out of these were their Judges chosen; but such as were above threescore years old. For although Juniors were admitted into this company, yet none judged under that age. οὐ σύμφορον γὰρ εἰς ἀκριβείαν τὰ ἀμφίζοα ἦν. To these was any busines referred, of which the Senate and people were in suspense what to determine *c Aristoph.* Εἶτ' ἀ Βουλὴ καὶ Δῆμος ὅταν κρίνειν μέλλῃ περὶ μεγάλης ἀμφιλογίας, Εἰσάγουσιν τοὺς ἀντιδίκους τοῖν ἀντιδίκοιν παραδοῦναι. When the

k Contaren. l. 1. fol. 11. b.

a Stephanus ἀπὸ τοῦ.
b Arist. Sch. p. 37.

c In Vespis. p. 471.

the Council & People are in doubt how to judge a great matter, they decree to deliver over the guilty to the Judges. And no marvel. For the office of a Judge is κρίνειν κρίνων, prerogative in sentence, saies *d Aristotle*; that is, to state those Questions which the Law hath not decided. The order of their giving sentence before the third year of the ninety second Olympiad I know not. Afterwards they sate by turn in their own Tribes, every one as his lot fell. For there being formerly ten Tribes in *Athens*, they chose out of each five men, & to wch one of them the chance happened, he sate Judge. I cannot say that the manner of Election was like that of the *e Syracusans* concerning the priest of *Jupiter*, who taking the names of so many as were nominated, and casting them into a pot, created him whose name should be first drawn, of that sacred Function. But of our own must I speak. *f* When then they were appointed, they met every of them bringing with him a Table and a Wand, on wch was written a Letter that did betoken some Judicatory. (For there being 10 Tribunals every one of them was noted with a read Letter, Α, Β, Γ. Δ, Ε, &c. to Κ, over the door) time calling them to sit, they drew lots, and he to whom Α, was taken out, sate in the Court noted with Α, and Β with Β, and so to Κ. This done, they shewed their lot to the *Præco* of the Judicatory, who gave them their Wand and Table. This they did least any should rashly attempt to sit, & pervert Justice. I know not whether I may better call that Rod of Authority a wand or staff: because that *g* Βακτηρία ἢ σχῆμα ἢ τρίβων ἢ τευθόλιον, was a Proverb used in derision of the Judges. *h* This staff at the dayes end they brought to the *Prytanes*, who gave them their wages. But the *a* Scholiast teaches us otherwayes, saying that the *Demagogi* paid them, it being manifest out of *Cleon's* words the Orator; Ω γέροντες Ἡλιασταί, θεαταὶ πρωΐαν, Οὓς ἐγὼ σώσω. *Judges which I feed.* Their pay was not alwaies the same ἠγείρατο, *b* saies the Interpreter of *Aristophanes*. First, they had *obolum*, which *Calistratus*, surnamed *Parnytas*, was Author of. Hence the Proverb *c* Ὀβολὸν τοῖς Παρνήθιοις. Afterwards it was augmented by *Callicrates*, and from him grew grew

d Pol. l. 3. *c.* 1. 31 ὅτε μὴ ἐνίοις ἀδιαιρέτοις διοικίζουσι.

e Cic in Verrem. Act. 3.

f Aristoph. πλ. p. 30.

g Suidas proverb.

h Sch. Arist. πλ. 30.

a In Equites. pag. 301.

b In Nubes pag. 174.

c Appendix Vaticana.

d Zenobius.

the word ὀβολὸς τὸ Καλλικρατίδειον, it may be for a pretty summe of mony. Nay it changed, for now I read of ὀβολὸς Ἡλιαστικὸς one, & anon πεντώβολον three a *e Drachm*, or two. And therefore may we conclude that it was sometime more, sometimes less. Thus having spoken a little of their Judges, I proceed to their cases of Law, in which I shall add.

e Sch. Arist. pag. 487.

When any had received wrong in *Athens*, it was their custom to make their cases known to a Magistrate, whose office it was to report the Judicatory. And this they did by a Table in which it was written, Κατηγορῶ τοῦδε ὃ προσκαλεῖται τοῦτον διὰ τὸ δεῖσθαι εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον. *I accuse H. B. and cite him to the Court by W. N.* not unlike the *Romans* proceeding who brought the name of the delinquent to the Magistrate before the accusation, to which *g Plautus* alludes. *Ibo ego ad tres viros vestraque ibi nomina Faxo erunt*-when this note was given up, the Magistrate asked the Plaintiff, whether he had witnesses and would prosecute the matter; who answering that he intended it, had thereupon authority to summon the Defendant to his appearance, and this he did either by himself or other, called therefore κλητὴρ for κλῆσις ἡ εἰς τὰς δίκας εἰσαγωγή, a bringing into suit, καλεῖται δὲ εἰς δικαστήρια. The word signifies a witness also. For when they warned any to the Tribunal, they had any that stood by to testifie that they had admonished them, ἵνα κλητῆρες ὦσι οἱ καλοῦντες εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον τοὺς συμμάρτυρας ἢ ἡ λέξις καὶ ἡ μαρτυρία. You may use κλητὴρ for an Apparator, Serjeant, Bayliff or the like. Sometimes they would run streight to the Court, as it were headlong, in *k Demosthenes* his phrase, sometimes the Suiter would forthwith draw the Defendant, if he were loath to come, as you may see out of *l Aristophanes*. Καὶ δ' ἕλκειν αὐτὸν-- But if the party could put in two ἀξιόχρεως, sufficient to Bail, he was dismissed. Hence in the *m* Comœdian. Ἀλλ' ἐγγυητὰς σοι ποιήσομαι δύο Ἀξιόχρεως. *I will procure thee a couple of able Sureties.* Sometimes they would appoint a day of appearance, that might be a Week or more, after the *vocationem in jus*; at which time if the Defendant were not personally at the Judgment-seat, he came within compass of Ἐρήμης, a Writ of

f Vlp. in Dem. p. 343

g Asinaria Act. 1. p. 54.

Sch. Arist. 190.

i Sch. Arist. p. 442.

κόπτ' ἐκκαλῶ εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον. p. 596. n. 17.

l In Vespis p. 487.

m Arist Comic. p. 755.

of *Eremodicium*, refusal to come in and answer. Which was avoided by suing for a μὴ ὄφλειν in tenne dayes after. For when the party to defend was absent, he was condemned *indictâ causâ*, so *a Budæus* expounds ἐξ ἐρήμης κατάδικα ὀφλεῖν, by this therefore the case was renewed, and stood as at the first; the sentence that before past, being made of no force; and for this was it termed μὴ ὄφλειν, *b* ὃτι πρότερον δοκοῦσα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἰσχὺν ἔχειν τοῦ μὴ ὀφλεῖν οὐδὲν ἦν, *because in the beginning it seemed to carry some power, but at last was nothing.* The business then made a new, the party that was cast by an ἔρημα, after that he had obtained a μὴ ὄφλειν, was *c* within two Months to set the Law on foot, which they term ἀντιλαχεῖν δίκῃ, or else the sentence given before was ratified. Whosoever should offer to call any man to the Court, unless upon good grounds, was liable to ἀλαζονείας δίκη, a Writ of Molestation for a false cause. Having thus far proceeded, the Impleader gave in a Libel; which held the contents of his action, and the summe of the Defendants answer. This the Greeks call *d* Ἀντιγράφειν. *Antigraphen.* Though I know also, that all cases in Law were termed *e* πράγματα, ἀντιγραφαί. They took this course because the Defendant might know what to answer. And because it was ordinary in *Athens* for knaves to accuse out of envy, which is συκοφαντία, they made a *f* Law, that whosoever accused, and had not the fifth part of the voices, should be fined a thousand Drachmes. And he that could not prove his objection was also punished in the purse a certain summe; *g* which if he paid not at the constituted time, was tourfold; and if his ability reached not so far, he suffered imprisonment. At the presenting of the *Antigraphe*, testimonies were also delivered (formes of which you shall often meet with in *h Demosthenes*) and a copy of an Oath which the Suiter gave, in these words, Ἐπόμνυμι κατηγορήσειν, that he would justly accuse. Ἐπόμνυμι ἀπολογήσεσθαι, that he would according to Truth make his Apology: and this they name καθ' ὁμολογίαν. These writings were cast into a certain coffer, forth coming as occasion should require: All which *i Aristophanes* in one verse comprehends, Ἀναμμοσίας καὶ σκεμμάτων καὶ γραφῶν καὶ ψευδομαρτύρων

a In prioris & Post. No. ad Pand.

b Vlp. in Dem. pag. 343.

c Pollux. l. 8. p. 350.

d You have a form of this in Demosth. d. 628.

e Arist. Nub. p. 154. v. Sch.

f Demosth. p. 716. n. 7.

g Arist. Schol. ver. 870.

h Vnum contra Stephan. Δικ. α. p. 622. aliud p. 624. 629.

i Schol. Arist. Vesp. 505. & Hn. Vesp. p. 467. 505. *l* In Vesp. p. 504.

They joyned or put together oaths, citations, & teſtimonies. I ſo interpret it againſt the Scholiaſts mind, who will have προκλήσεις to be Exhortations given to the Plantiff and Defendant to come to compoſition. But I know that προκαλεῖσθαι, is κατηγορεῖν, εἰσάγειν, to accuſe, εἰς δικαστήριον, *in jus vocare*, and προκαλεῖσθαι, διὰ μαρτύρων ἀναχωρεῖσθαι. The cheſt or coffer was called ἰσχύς; and of this are the words of the Greek Orators to be underſtood ὁ εἰς ἰσχίον βάλλων. *p Theophraſtus* of a mad man that would *entangle* himſelf in any thing, ἰσχίον ἰσχίον τὸ πῶμα, καὶ ἱμάτιον γεγραμμένον ἐν ταῖς χερσίν. Having an *Echinus* in his lappe, and a bundle of libels in his hands. *Pollux* make a different expoſition of this oath from that which other Grammorians do, confounding, as is moſt probable, the ἀντωμοσία & διωμοσία, with διωμοσία. For ὠμοσία is that firſt Oath which the Plaintiff gave to proſecute the party proſecuted to anſwer; which on the Defendants ſide was called ἀντωμοσία, and generally on both. Διωμοσία was a Sacrament taken by both, the Impleader that he did *a* ὀρθῶς ἐγκαλεῖν, follow the Delinquent in Law; the Defendant ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ἐναντίον ἀπολύσειν, to ſtand ſtifly to it that he did not treſpaſs. And yet *h Ulpian* makes both theſe one. After this were they that ſued one another, admitted to the Judicatory, it being firſt demanded of the ſuiter, *c* whether he would *perſequi*, follow the ſuit; and had ſufficient witneſs for evidence; in cauſes capital it was asked if there were need of any who could not then be preſent. This interrogation was termed *d* Ἀνάκρισις. If then any thing was deficient, the Judgment was prorogued by an *e* ἀντωμοσία or oath, which the Plantiff took, that for the preſent he could not perform it, but certainly would, *f* Perhaps for that time pretending ſickneſs, death of friends, or ſome urgent neceſſity, on which their fortunes might depend; when then all things were ready, and at hand, they proceeded towards the Tribunal, the Judges firſt ſwearing *g* that they would give ſentence according to the Laws, and in thoſe things concerning which there were no Laws, according to conſcience and equity, (which the Greeks call γνώμη δικαιοτάτη,) and of thoſe

m Schol. Ariſt. p. 239.
n Idem p. 195.
o Demoſth. 622. n. 33. 629. n. 80. 640. n. 22. 655. n. 65. 665. n. 66.
p Charact. περὶ ἀπονοίας, pag. 21.
a Schol. Ariſt. Veſp. 50.
b In Demoſth. p. 287.
c Vide Vldian in Dem. p. 347. 348.
d Bud. in Annot. Rel. ad Pan. p. 341.
e Vlpian in Dem. p. 226.
the Schol. of Ariſtoph. *Makes it the ſame with* ἀντωμοσία. *m.* pag. 75.
f Vlpian. in Demoſth. 341.
g Pollux, l. 8. p. 496.
h Demoſth. p. 628.

those things only concerning which they did debate. This Oath seems to have been taken at the Altar, from whence they brought their little stones (of these by and by) with which they gave sentence. *i Plutarch* ὅρκον ὤμνυον βωμὸν θιγόντες. The Oath is called ἀμοτομία. Then went the Judges to their seat *k* neatly spread with mats, in Greek ψιάθοι, and ψιάθοις, and all others being warned by the *Præco*, to goe without the bars in this form *l* χωρεῖτε ἔξω they sate down; for we must know that the *Athenian* Judicatories were environed in, as the Romanes, with lattice I suppose, by them called *m* κιγκλίδωται *Cancellatæ*, by the Greeks κιγκλίδες, *n* though κιγκλὶς more properly signifies the door of the δικαστήριον, before which was *o* a rope of 50 feet in length drawn, & publick servants set, that none might enter, but who had business. The partition I think was but weak, and therefore by *Demosthenes* called ἀδρὰς κιγκλίς. Within which none was permitted to come, but the Judges. And therefore when *a Demosthenes* did long to hear *Callistratus* plead concerning *Oropus*, he over entreated his *Pædagogus* that he would bring him where he might have the happiness to be an Auditor. The *Pædagogus* therefore acquainted with the publique Officers that opened the doors, πρὸς ἀνοίγοντας τὰ δικαστήρια ἐλθὼν, procured him a place where he might hear and not be seen, ἐν ᾧ καθήμενος ἀκούσειε μόνος. When the Judges had gone within the Barres, lest any should be wanting, the *Præco* cried *b* Εἴ τις δίκαιος Ἀθηναῖος ἐστὶν, ἴτω, if any Judge be without the door of the place of Judgment, let him enter. *c* Because if any came after the Case began to be pleaded, he could not have admission. Being then seated, the Crier read the Inditement, ἔγκλημα (a copy of some part of which you have in *Demosth.* ΔΕΒΟΛΑΥΣ ΝΙΚΟΒΟΥΛΟΣ ΕΓΡΙΒΟΥ-ΛΕΥΣΑΣ ΕΜΟΙ, &c. (in which, according to the customs of *e* the old *Ægyptians*, were given up to the Court in writing all the reasons of accusation, the wrong received, and the manner of it, with an estimation of the dammage. The several heads of which the Judges wrote down, lest the Impleader and Defendant, should swerve from what they had

i Pag. 122.

k Aristoph. Sch. p. 239.

l Demosth.

m Pollux. l. 8. p. 407.

n Pollux loco citato.

o This is ἀπορρητότερον Pollux.

p Pag. 485.

a Plutarch. in Vita.

b Aristoph. pag. 494.

c Aristoph. Schol. Ibid.

d ἀρὰς καὶ κατάρας.

e Bosnius De Costhumi def. le Genti lib. 1. cap. 51.

in hand. Then stood up the Suiter in a pulpit on the left hand of the Tribunal, and spake an accusatory Oration, made for the most part by some of the *Attick* Orators: which use brought in by * *Antiphon* the *Rhamnusian*, *f Clemens* of *Alexandria* calls λόγους ἐν δίκαις γεγραμμένους. *g Cicero*, *scribere aliis causas: quibus in judiciis uterentur*, such as *Lysias* is reported to have done for *Socrates*: Which lest it should exceed in length, was limited to a certain time, by a vessel, in the bottome of which was a small hole for water to run, as sand doth in our hour-glasses, thence called κλεψύδρα, into which was poured an equall measure of water; and least there should be deceit there was an officer made for that purpose named *b* Εὐθυνος, ὁ παρεχόμενος ἴσον ἑκατέροις καὶ ἰσότιμον τὸν κλεψύδραν, filling alike for the impleader and answerer. *i* When therefore the glass was run, it was not lawful for them to speak farther. *k* Nay for scantness of time they were compelled to pass by many things; and for that reason were they chary of their water, bidding that it should be stopped at the reciting of Laws, or the like; which *Demosthenes* intimates in Συ δ' ἐπίλαβε τὸ ὕδωρ as ἐπιλαμβάνειν is to stop the nose in *l Aristophanes*. *m Apuleius*. *At tu interim dum legit, aquam sustine. Pancirollus Ne si aqua interim effluxisset, amplius sibi dicendi prohibita foret facultas*, least he might not have leave to speak any more, if the water were spent: if any would give way to another to speak while the glass was running, he might; which *Dem.* testifies, τὸ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιλαμβάνειν. But if he would not permit it; he bid the *Præco* cast it forth ἔξεχε τὸ ὕδωρ. *Ulpian.* τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἔκβαλε. From which kind of pleading it grew into a proverb *b* ὑπὸ τὴν κλεψύδραν *c Cicero. ad clepsydram*, to speak by the hour or allotted time. His speech being ended he sate down. *d* The defendant then sitting all that while over against him, until he had finished, after addressed himself to his answer which he made from the right hand of the Judicatory: where he had a pulpit, and station for this reason sales *e Aristotle*, because they would make both parties equal. For the Suiter having the better part, they gave the upper part to the defendant. Or because

* Arist. Rhet. l. 1. c. 13.
f Strom. 1. pag. 286.
g In Bruto.
b Pollux l. 8. p. 404.
i Ulpian. in Dem. p. 356.
k Demosth. περὶ Παραπρ. p. 589.
l In Pluto.
m Apologia.
a Demosth. ὑπὲρ σφρ.
b Aristoph. pag. 617.
c Tusc. Qu. l. 2. in fine.
d Ulpian. in Dem. 356.
e Probl. περὶ διαιτ. σύνλυσ. καὶ ἀδιαιτ.

οἱ ὑπόδικοι or defendants, were for the most part in custody; If therefore the guard stood on the right hand, the defendant stood there also: Thence then he pleaded for himself, in which plea he was only to wipe out those accusations which his adversary laid against him, *f* μόνον τὰ κατηγορήματα λύσων ἐστίν, and in that had the plaintiff a prerogative for he might object what he would; nay, and as *g Aristotle*, forecast all before he commenced his suit, and feigne to himself what he pleased. The defendant, perhaps innocent, was at that instant to clear himself, *h* either by witnesse, or probabilities, of all doubts whatsoever the plaintiff could cast in. Sometimes the Plaintiff and Defendant would desire advocates of the Judges συνηγόρους, hence *i* ἐπὶ μισθῷ ξυνηγορεῖν to plead for a Fee. In the time of their Pleading witnesses were called, who came in and gave their testimonies; and after they had uttered what they had to say; they went to the Altar (as it seems to me either in, or very high to the Judicatory) and swore. *k Cicero.* *Athenis nimis cum quidam apud eos sanctè graviterque vixisset, & testimonium dixisset publicè, & ut mos Græcorum est, jurandi causâ ad aras accederet, unâ voce omnes Judices, ne is juraret, reclamâsse.* They report that in *Athens* when a certain man (*l Xenocrates*) who had lived Godly and gravely among them, had given witness, and as the fashion of the Greeks is, approached to the Altar to take oath, all the Judges with one voice cryed that he should not (They would not it seems, have belief rather be bound with religion than truth) Fit to this is the answer of *Pericles* to a friend of his desiring him μαρτυρῆσαι ψευδῆ to testifie a lie, which he was to avouch with an oath, I am your friend, quoth he, to the Altar, that is as farr as conscience, religion and honesty shall permit; hence ἄχει ἑωυτῷ φίλος ἐπὶ βωμόν, *ad Aras*, grew I suppose to be a proverb. *Plut. Apoph.* p. 112. Whether in this ceremony they touched the Altar, I cannot justly say; in delivering their testimonies they were wont to touch the tips of the eare (for reason to me unknown) called κίονες from κιονᾶν, *Etymologicon*; (But I rather may suppose it to be a Roman fashion) where the

f Vlpian in Demosth. p. 252

g Loco laudato.

h Demosth. 219.

i Clemens Alexand. *These had certain pettifoggers under them that administred the Laws and forms of action.* Cicero apud Græcos infimi homines mercedula adducti ministros se præbent in judiciis Oratoribus iis, qui apud illos συνήγοροι vocantur.

k Cornel. Nep. Vide ad Atticum. l. 1. c. 13.

l Vide Laertium in vita ejus.

Plaintiff

Plaintiff was wont to pluck his witneſs by the eare, for remembrance-ſake. *Horace lib. 1. Sat. 9. Licet atteſtari? ego vero oppono auriculam* — To which *Virgil* looked, ſaying *Cynthius aurem vellit & admonuit. Eclog.* 6.) and at the end thereof wiſh all deſtruction to themſelves, and houſe, if they dealt falſly. Which if they did, they were ſubject to a writ ψευδομαρτυρίων, of falſe witneſs and he that ſuborned them κακοτεχνιῶν. Sometimes the witneſs was not preſent at the doing of the wrong, but took it from others by hear ſay, which the Greek Lawyers term ἀκοὴ, as παρὰ τῶν ἀποθανόντων when they take it from thoſe that are dead which went for currant and was allowable: But to bring a teſtimony from the mouth of one that was alive, and within the Territories of *Athens*, It would not paſs. As neither theirs who were diſcarded the liberties of the Cyty, ἄτιμοι, or ſervants, or any man in his own cauſe. a The manner of witneſs was twofold, either by perſonal appearance, and teſtifying αὐτοπαθῶς, and then he was called μάρτυς, in no caſe lyable to the Law, ἀνέγκλητος: or elſe by writing, by which he offered himſelf to his queſtions or attackments in law, againſt whom he witneſſed, if he were not true, and this is μαρτυρία. Both parties being heard, and the altercation ceaſed, the *Prætor* cryed. *To whom E. N. hath ſeemed to violate right* (ſo they interpret ἀδικεῖν *jus violare*) *let him caſt in the black ſtone, or hollow; to whom he ſeemeth not, the whole, or white.* For we muſt know that anciently the Greeks gave their ſentences with black and white pebles, called b χαλίκια (which the French ſemblably term *Porcellanes* χοῖροι *porcus*) *Ovid.*

Moverat antiquis, niveis atriſque Lapillis;
His damnare reos, illis abſolvere culpâ.

The antique faſhion was with white ſtones to abſolve, with black to condemn the accuſed. Pertinent to which is the ſaying of *Alcibiades*; when he was called out of *Sicily* to go home and and anſwer for his life, counting it fooliſh to go thither whence he was never like to eſcape; when one aſked d διὰ τί οὐ πείθῃ τῇ πόλει καὶ σαυτὸν κρίνεις; Wilt thou not truſt thy country which begat thee to be thy Judge? ὁ δὲ φησὶν, quoth

a Demoſth. p. 619. 634.

a Vlpian in Demoſth. 238.

b Ariſtoph. 438. c Metamorph. 15. F. 1.

d Ælian. Var. lib. 13. c. 38. Plut. Mor. p. 140.

quoth he ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀγνοοῦσα ἡ τροφὸς τὸν λευκὸν, μὴ μέλανα τεκεῖν εἰνὶ δοκῇ λευκὸν ψῆφον. No not her that brought me forth, for I fear least she being ignorant, and not conceiving the truth, mistake the black for the white stone. The black made *tristem sententiam*, and was so named; the sad sentence; the white *candidam* or acquitting. They used likewise black and white beans, in respect of which *Pythagoras* is thought to have spoken as a Riddle κυάμους μὴ κτᾶσθαι not to eat beans; by *e Nonnus* interpreted. μὴ καταδικάζειν τὸ δίκαιον χρήμασιν. Not to undermine justice with bribes, or that men should get by the perverting of equity. I see no reason, but that I may think he means men ought not to be too froward in getting places of Judgment. For *f* κυαμοτρώξ in *Aristoph.* is by the Scholiast expounded δικαστὴς, & κυαμοτρώγων is used for a judge, which properly signifies an eater of beans. But afterwards they had little pellets of Brass; The bloody ones of them were pierced through, therefore termed, *h* τετρυπημένοι: the saving were whole, ἄτρητοι. Of these every one took, of each, one from the Altar, as I have said, *i* where laying their hands upon the ψῆφοι, or balls, they intimated by a transposition of them, (as from the black to the white, and from the white to the black again) that they would not for envy or by respects, but indifferently & truly judge. When then they were readie to pass sentence, *k* the *Præco* carried about the καδίσκον, or καδίσκιον, a certain pitcher (for so *l* Xenophon calls it, ὑδρίσκο) having on the mouth of it a conveiance like a Tunnel, named κημός, but the top thereof was covered close, except a little hole for one pellet at a time to be put in, made for avoyding of deceit. I suppose, least one man might cast in more, & therefore were they to touch the ψῆφοι only with their forefinger, middle, and thumb. *c* Aristoph. Τὰς τρεῖς λιθαρίσκας δεῖ δακτύλοις λαβεῖν. But we must know that the black & white pellets were not promiscuously cast into one pot, but two; *d* The one which freed was made of Brass called τρύπημα whether because the first threw it into their voices, or because it may signifie the better, I know not; The other that condemned, being wooden

e In Nax. Stelit. 17.

f Pagina 290.
g Lysistrata. p. 870.

h Pollux. l. 8. p. 407. Vlpian in Dem. 470.
i Vlpian in Dem. p. 62.
k Aristoph. 585.
l Pag. 263.

c Pag. 439. vid. Schol.
d Aristoph. Vespis. 502.

wooden ψῆφος. After the Grier had gon round with both, becauſe ſome would keep their balls, and for favour not give their voice againſt a friend or great perſon, therefore he cried *e* τίς ἀφῆκεν, ἀνιστάσθω, who hath not caſt in his ball? Let him riſe. So he roſe and threw it in. Then they took them out and numbred them, and in matter of Lands, mony or the like, whoſe veſſel (for there was as many ſet, as the number of the litigants come to) had moſt, got the upper hand. At the counting of them a Magiſtrate ſtood with a Rod, & laid it over thoſe that were told, leſt they ſhould miſtake the one for the other, or willingly do it. For ſo were they wont to do; thence named *f* ψηφαλίπτης. Which *g* Teucer objects to *Menelaus* about *Ajax*, when by his deceit the armour was given to *Ulyſſes*, and therefore he calls him κλέπτην ψηφοποίον. Sch. δόλιον κριτὴν; not amiſſe ψηφαλίπτην. *h* When the number was known, if the white or ſolid balls were more, they took their Tables, which they had in their hands, and drew a ſhort line, as a token of abſolution; if the black or hollow were more, they drew a longer line as condemning Hence ἐλάττονι τιμᾶν μακρᾷ, may be uſed, for to condemn every body. The thing it ſelf they termed *k* πλεκτίζειν as *Ariſtophanes*. By this the one party being overthrown (*l* as none ever was without the ſentence of the Judges) his adverſary wrote down what dammages he ſhould pay, which they term ἐπιγράφειν. *m* Plutarch δίκης πάλαισμα τὸ μικρὰ ἐκ' ἐνίοις φέρειν δικῶν ἐπιγραφάς. *n* For it was an uſe of old for thoſe that went to law to make agreements, I know not whether by oath, for they did ſwear by three Gods Ἰάσονα, Καθάρσιον, Ἐξακεστῆρα, and put it into the *Echinus* that they would ſtand to ſuch and ſuch conditions; before ſentence, that he that was caſt ſhould undergoe ſomewhat, and afterwards ἐπιγράφειν, than is, ſet down what loſs of limbs, or life, or means, &c. for although they did *o* ἐνεχυράζεσθαι, give their eſtates as pledges to anſwer, and meet at the Court; yet it may be that may be leſſe, or more than the fine. There was in cauſes capital an other proceeding, like to that in the City of *Venice*, where they gave two ſentences. In the firſt they determined

e Ariſtoph: Veſpis.

f Schol. Naz. in Ajax.
g Sophocles Ajace p. 68.
h Schol. Ariſt. 438

i Ariſtoph. Veſp. loco. cit.
k Pag. 491.
l Ariſtoph. p. 472.
m Βίοις ῥητ. p. 454.
n Schol. Ariſt. in αλ. p. 50.

o Schol. Ariſt. p. 740.

determined whether they ſhould condemn, or free: If in the firſt he was condemned, the manner of puniſhment was ordained in the ſecond: but if in the firſt they found no cauſe of death, they bad the accuſed to fine himſelf, which *b Xenophon* intimates by ἐπιτιμᾶν, and if it were to little the Judges doubtleſs made it more, as the *Scholiaſt* of *Ariſtophanes*, if I forget not: the cuſtome is ſet down by *c Cicero*, ſpeaking of *Socrates*; *Ergò ille quoque damnatus eſt*, &c. And he too was condemned; not only by the firſt ſuffrages, but alſo by thoſe, which by appointment of the Laws, were to give the ſecond time. For in *Athens* the accuſed being found guilty, if the Offence were Capitall, they weighed and conſidered the Penalty. When the ſentence was to be given by the Judges, they asked the Defendant, what he thought himſelf to have deſerved to forfeit, &c. (In the *Venetian* Common-wealth this is not obſerved.) In Trial, if there be more for the priſoners liberty, than againſt him, he is ſtreight acquitted; but if more than half be in the pot of *condemnation*, he ſuffers. *d Socrates* at the firſt had two hundred eighty and one more againſt him than on his ſide; and at the next eighty more were added to the former, ſo in all he had three hundred threeſcore & one condemnatory ſuffrages. But fewer might have don as much. For we read in *e Demoſthenes* of *Cimon* like to be puniſhed with death, ἑξακόσιαι ψῆφοι, if had there not been wanting. And again *f* ἑξακόσιαι ψῆφοι ἐδέησαν τοῦ μὴ θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι. Nay one was ſufficient. *g Demoſthenes*. Μιᾶς μόνον ἐλλεῖται ψήφου. But *Ulpian* on the place ὅτι μικρᾷ ἐβλάβησαν ζημίᾳ, ſaies that he was lightly puniſhed. *h* If the voices were equal, then was the priſoner looſed; becauſe ſometimes he might be accuſed upon ſuſpition, or of thoſe things which he did not willingly commit; or perhaps was ſued out of envy; and many other reaſons given by *i Ariſtotle*: therefore did the Lawgiver leave ſome place for pitty and compaſſion. To which the Judges were often moved. And therefore would they plead the *k* deſerts of their anceſtors, their own lives formerly well led. *l* Sometimes ſhewed they their wounds; and [illegible]

a Contaren. de Rep. Ven. l. 3.

b Apolog. Socr. p. 265.

c de orat. 1. fol. 61. b.

d Laert. in Socrat. p. 115.

e Pag. 436.

f Pag. 430.

g Pag. 338.

h Ariſtoph. p. 244.

i Probl. 4. μ. 29.

k Dem. [illegible]

m Dem. p. 493. n Arist. loco cit. πολλὰ ἀναβεβλημένον. a Arist. p. 469. 499. b Vesp. p. 449. c Sch. Ar. 500. d Laert. Socr. p. 115. e Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 5 c. 19. f Athen. Rep. ὁ τῆς δίκης καὶ τοῖς μέλλει μᾶλλον, ἢ τῷ αὐτοῖς συμφέροντι. pag. 404. g Apol. Socr. initio. h Athen. Rep. p. 406. Ἑλληνικ. 752. 753. *They are ſtrangely tranſlated foolishly into Latine.* εἰκαιότης *is what the Profeſſours of the civil Law uſually mean by* in proximum.

the venerable gray haires of their parents, but the mothers chiefly, to interceede in ſilence; Sometimes embracing their children in their armes, they held them up in the Judges view, or cauſed them a to come up into the βῆμα, or pulpit, and ſupplicate with tears: which wrought ſo much upon the Judges, that b *Ariſtophanes* in a ſcoff preſents one ἐπιδακρύοντα τοῖς γόμοις, drowning his ſentence in weeping. Then in compunction would the Judges ſpeak to the Priſoner, κατάβα, καταβᾶ, wiſhing him to go down from the βῆμα, a token often of Mercy, though now and then it proved otherwiſe. Nay it was a word of diſpleaſure too, as when d *Plato* would have been Advocate for *Socrates*: Ναὶ τάχα γ' ἄν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀναβαίην, they thundred out Καταβαῖνε, καταβαῖνε, καταβήσει. Neither may I forget e *Amynias* the brother of *Æſchylus* the Tragœdian; who, when the people would have ſtoned his brother for ſome impiety brought on the ſtage, held up his elbow, and arm without a hand, loſt in the fight at *Salamis*: by which ſpectacle the Judges calling to mind the merits of *Amynias*, diſmiſſed the Poet. Neither may I omit what f *Xenophon* objects to them, that they cared not ſo much for juſtice, as regarded what might conduce moſt to their own profit, and be convenient: g As that they condemned innocents, & ſpared offenders that could ſpeak well. Furthermore another fault of theirs, was the prolonging in of caſes a whole year, ſaies h *Xenophon*; and i *Ariſtophanes* Ἀλλ' οὐχὶ νυνὶ τὰς ἐμπροσθινωτάτας Ἔσειν ὀφλ, ἐλλ' εἰκοσάδας ἀναβεβλήμεθα. Now we do not handle ſuits of above threeſcore years, but we are put off till the next day. Τὰς ἐν τοῖς εἰκαίοις γὰρ ἐκδικάζομεν. For we come to triall within twenty years. This *Xenophon* imputes to the multitudes of their imployments. As long as the caſe hung in ſuſpenſe, the name of the accuſed was, as among the *Romans*, whence *Rei Pendentis*) expoſed to a publick Table to the view of all men, which they term κύρβεις. *Demoſthenes*, ἵνα ἐκκύρβεις ἀφ' ἑκάστου μηνὸς. *Ulpian.* φορτιδέων ἐν τοῖς πίναξι. You ſee here the place too. *viz* at the Statues of the *Eponimi*. Before a man was convicted, all that they objected to him was but αἰτίαι, by

Demoſthenes

k Budæus in Pand. Ne. Relig. p. 31. l Demoſt. in Mid. 347.

m Demoſthenes termed ψιλὸν λόγον, a bare report; but after proof ἔλεγχον. ἔστιν ὅταν εἴωσί τινες, καὶ πολλοὶς ὑμῶν δόξει. After judgment paſt, κρίμα. An inditement of ſacriledge, theft, murder, treaſon, is but αἰτία; the evidence and conviction make it ἔλεγχον, the ſentence κρίμα.

m Conc. Andr. 388.
n Dem. p. 406.

De Areopago, & ejus appellatione, Areopagita

ON the hill, on which the *Acropolis* was built, ſtood the *Areopagus*; in the old Tranſlation of the Acts of the Apoſtles reudered *Vicus Martius*, by our Engliſh men, *Mars hill Street*, falſly. For *a* πάγος bears not that ſignification, but what *b Juſtin Martyr* interprets, ὑψηλὸς τόπος, an eminent place. Ἐν γὰρ ὄχθῳ τινὶ ἐκεῖνο τὸ δικαστήριον. For that Judicatory was on a high rock. Therefore named by *c Æſchylus* & *d Euripides*, Ἄρειος ὄχθος, by *e Ovid*, *Scopulus Mavortis*, & *f Ennius*, *Arcopagitica petra*: ſo called, as found Antiquity would have it, *g* from the judgment of the twelve Gods upon *Mars*, for killing *Halirrhothius* the ſonn of *Neptune*. But *h Juſtin Martyr*, becauſe he was there arraigned of adultery; μοιχείας ἐκεῖσε δίκας ἔδωκεν. But alike true it pleaſeth me wel to conſider the ſuperſtition of the ancients, that conſecrated high places to their deities, and erected the ſtatues of their Gods upon hills. As *i Parnes*, *Hymettius*, *Anchesmius*, whence *Jupiter Parnethius*, *Hymettius*, *Anchesmius*. And as in *Athens*, *Neptune* had a Hill, Ποσειδῶνος πάγος, *Saturn* another Κρόνου πάγος; *Pan* another, Πανὸς πάγος; *Mercury* another Ἑρμοῦ πάγος; ſo *Mars* his *Areopagus*. *k Æſchylus* gives it a nomination from the *Amazons*, ſacrificing to *Mars* there when they came and fought againſt *Theſeus*. Or, if you will receive the opinion of others, it takes the name from the caſes in it handled, of blood willfully ſhed: ſo *Heſychius*, Ἄρειος φονικὸς; that when *Julius*

SECT. II.

a when Tullius *had divided the Roman field, he made on high hills and places fortified by nature, refuges for the husbandmen, and called them* πάγους Dion. Hal. 4. *Not as if it ſignified a village but as it was ſituated*: For Pagus villa ruſtica *comes from* πηγὴ *Becauſe built neer a well.* Perot.
b in Acta p. 136.
c Eumenid. p. 296.
d Electr. p. 836.
e Metamor. p. l. 6. fab 2. & Pachym. in vit. Dionyſ. Areopag.

f Vide Scalig. in conject. *g* Demoſt. p. 413. Pauſ. p. 26. Simeon. Met. *b* Loco citato. *i* Pauſ. Attic. p. 31. *k* Eumenid. p. 296.

*Satyr. p. v. 100

venal calls it *Curiam Martis*, you may interpret it, *The Court of Murther*, but willingly committed. This is termed by the *m Tragœdian*, *the most uncorrupt, sharp, reverend Councel*; than which nothing is more constant (saies *n Tully* comparing to it the Roman Senate) nothing more severe; as by *o Pseudo Dicæus Cretensis*, it is stilled *Judicium severissimum per omnem Græciam*. Than which none Judged better; more just, or honest, saies *p Xenophon*. *q Plutarch* writes that this Court was ordained by *Solon*; and *r Cicero* received the like opinion, but that seems to contradict it, which *Plutarch* presently brings, quoted in the thirteenth table; that they who had lost their liberties should be restored again, unless they were condemned by the *Areopagites*, *Epheta*, *Prytannes*, *Basileis*, of murther, slaughter, tyranny, when that Law was enacted. And by and by, *s* Τίνες ἦσαν οἱ ὑπὸ Σόλωνος; &c. Who were condemned in *Areopagus* before *Solons* time (if he first instituted the *Areopagites*.) *t* Others are of opinion, that *Solon* added the *Areopagites* to the *Epheta* (Judges so called, because when formerly the *Basileus* made inquisition after murther unwillingly committed, *Draco* made it ἐπίσημον, that is, translated it to the *Epheta*, their number was but fifty one and though they judged in five Courts once, yet by little & little they became ridiculous.) *u Possardus* saies, he abolished their severity, & substituted the *Ageopagites*. But *a Urbe Emanim* more probably, that *Solon* was not the Author of this Senate, but brought it into a better form, made it more strong and firm and augmented the power of it. For *Draco* it seems lessened the authority of it, deriving it to the *Epheta*; *Solon* restored that authority and made it greater. *b* To this company none were admitted, but wise, wealthy and noble men, *c* famous for good life, and innocency, ἢν ἔξ ἁπάσης ἀνεύθυνοι, whom no man could Justly charge of misdemeanor. Nay men whose behaviour was intollerable, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλόγων πράξεων μεταβαλόντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμεινον, after they were chosen into the Colledge of the *Areopagites*, abhorring and blushing at their former dispositions, ἐπιστρέψαντες τὴν φύσιν χρῆσθαι, changed their natures, & embraced vertue. The number of them is uncertain; *e Nicephorus*

m Æschylus pag. 297.
n Ad Attic. l. 1. Ep. 11.
o De bello Tro. l. 6. p. 147.
p Ἀπομνημ. p. 448.
q In Solone pag. 63.
r Offic. l. 2.
s Loc. laudato
t Pollux. l. 8. p. 407.
u De Athen. Mag. p. 446.
a De Rep Athen p. 20.
b Vid. Maximum in Prolog. ad 6. Dionys. Opera & Nicephr. lib. 21. in vita Dion.
c Pachymer.
d Isoc. in Areopag. p. 133.
e Loco supra laudato.

pharus makes them but nine; as *Maximus* too out of *f Philochorus*; *Pachymerius* fifty and one. But what *Maximus* produces after, is somewhat, that they consisted of fifty and one, besides the Nobility most wise and rich. πλὴν ἐξ Βουλευτῶν καὶ φιλτάτων καὶ σοφωτάτων διαφερόντων. By which words he seems to aym at the nine *Arcontes*; *g* who when they had governed one year, and given an account of their offices, and had administred all things justly, were chosen yearly into this society, For which election annual, the number was doubtful. For some might die in that space, or all live, and in the next year be increased, *Volaterran*, out of an old inscription in *Acropolis*, saies that they were three hundred, ΤΩ ΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΩ, &c. To the most famous *Rufius Festus*, *Proconsul of Greece and Areopagite the counsel of Areopagus consisting of three hundred*; and the people of *Athens* set up this monument *for a testimonial of his good will and benevolence*. But that might only happen when this was erected. *h* They continued all their life time in this dignity, and were never put out, εἰ μὴ μεγάλως ἥμαρτε, unless for some grand offence, *i Bozius* tels us (how true I wot not) that they were all Priests. *Athenienses olim, &c.* The *Athenians*, quoth he did strive to challenge to themselves the prerogative of wisdome, and to them is it bent what the Apostle saies, *The Greeks seek after wisdome*. Nevertheless their *Areopagus*, who had the power of all things consisted of Judges that were Priest, and the High Priest of all that asked every of their sentences took the suffrages. Their authority was unlimited. For *k* they were overseers of all; *l* Judges of wilful murthers; wounds given out of pretended malice: which would make some, having a desire to drive a man out of *Athens*, go to a Chirurgion and make an incision in their heads, that they might sue him whom they hated upon an action of battery as *m Mantitheus* against *Boeotus*. They sate upon incendiaries, & impoisoners if the party dyed that took their doses. *a* They saw that the laws should be put in execution, such as *Contaren* would have in *Venice* to be Guardians to their Statutes. *c* In a word, all great *delinquencies* came under their censures. They inquired into

f Atthid. l. 2.
g Anonym. in Argu Oratio. Androtia.
* *They were of those Magistrates that were chosen by Lot, as the* Archon. Thesmothetæ, Basileus, Polemarchus, *for which cause* Pericles *was not of that number because he never attained to these offices* Plut in Peric. p. 153.
h Anonymus loco laudat.
i De statu Italiæ adversus Machiavel.
k Plutarch, Solon. p. 63.
l Ælian. Var. l. 15. c. 15. Dem. p. 406.
m Demosth. in Orat. περὶ Βοιωτοῦ πρὸς ὀνόμα[illegible].
a Dem. p. 445.
b Pachymer.
c In Sympos. *unless I am extream forgetful.*

into the behaviours of men, & we read in *Zenophon*, that they sharply reproved a young man for his loose living. Ἀναμαν-θάνουσιν αὐ τὸν τῆς Ἀρειοπαγίτου, &c. saies the *Dipnosophist*. *Valerius Maximus. Est & ejusdem urbis sanctissimum consilium Areopagus, &c.* There is likewise in that City the most sacred Councel *Areopagus*, where they were wont most diligently to enquire, what every of the *Athenians* did, by what gain he maintained himself, and what his trade and actions were. That men, knowing and remembring that once they must give an account of their lives, might embrace honesty. *g* The Greek author tels us that except in great cases of necessity they medled not with state affaires; but it seems otherwise. For if any one say, quoth *h Tullie*, that the *Attick* Republick can be well governed, without the councel of the *Areopagites*; he may as well say that the World may be governed without the Providence of the Gods. when the *Medes* and *Persians* invaded *Greece*, *i* by the advice of them was the war waged, wherein *Themistocles* purchased an everlasting memory of a victory. *k* And when their publick Treasury was bare, they furnished each man with eight *Drachmes*, and stored the ships with Mariners. Which advice, when they had wonne the day, was a cause saies *l Aristotle*. συστατικὸν πρὸς τὴν δημοκρατίαν, to give strength and sinews to the Commonwealth. *m* Under their sight were all the youth of *Athens*. For this reason especially, because that when they were reckoned among men, & were come to age they needed more care to be had of them, than when they were children. (not observed by our Countreymen in sending their sons young to the *Inns of Court*) Youth, and heat of blood, unstaidness in judgment, rashness in adventures, and pronenes to vice, leading, or rather carrying headlong, tender years to their own destruction. To them appertained blasphemies against their Gods, violating of Religions & divulging Mysteries, as when *Euryclides* the *Hierophanta* in answer to the question of *Theodorus*, Τίνες οὖν οἱ ἀσεβοῦντες περὶ τὰ μυστήρια; who offended against the mysterie? Οἱ τὰ ἀμύητα αὐτὰ ἐπιδεικνύντες, replyed, such as open them to those who

d It is quoted likewise by Athenæus. Dipn. l. 4. p. 167.
e Lib. 2. c. 6.
f Aristides. T. 1. l. p. 334 ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ἐλλησὶ δικαστηρίων τιμιώτατον καὶ ἁγιώτατον.
g Anon. Arg. Orat. Androt.
h De natura Deorum 2.
i Est enim bellum gestum consilio Senatus ejus. Cicero. Off. 1.
k Plutarch. in Themistocl. pag. 84 l. 3.
l Poll. l. 5. c. 4.
m Isocrates Areop. p. 132.
n Laert. lib. 2. in Aristip. p. 153.

who are not initiated. Therefore quoth the Philosopher, art thou impious. For which crime, had not *Demetrius Phalareus* befriended him, the *Hierophanta* was in danger, εἰς Ἄρειον πάγον ἀναχθῆναι κρίνειν, to have been brought before the Council of *Areopagus* By vertue of which authority S. *Paul* was here judged for teaching strange Gods (as they supposed.) *a* For although that the *Athenians* were under the *Romans*; yet their Lords made them αὐτοτόμους, *sui juris*, & permitted thē to keep their ancient customes. The manner of proceeding in this Court, was thus: After the fellony committed, the appellant brought his indictment to the *Basileus*, who giving the prisoner and his accuser audience once a month, at three several times to debate the business, in the fourth month, brings in the accusation to the *Areopagites*, *b* and putting off the Crown which he was wont to wear, sate down as judge with the *Areopagites* in the dark: for they judged by night, saies *c Lucian* that they might not regard the speaker, but what was spoken. It being there forbidden *d* περιορμίζεσθαι ἢ διατίζεσθαι, to move to compassion, and use Proems, as in other Courts, wherein they craved the Judges favour and attention, which by *Demosthenes* are termed περιαγωγαί. This *f Aristotle* calls ἔξω τοῦ πράγματος λέγειν, to speak beside the matter. Before the trial both parties swear (which they stile *g* ὅρκοι.) The Appealer standing upon the *testes* of a Goat, a Ram, and a Bull (usuall to the *Greeks*, as *Tyndarus* swore the Suiters of *Helena*, that they should revenge any wrong done to her, and her predestinated husband, *h* ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱερείοις τοῖς τομίοις, & *Hercules* to the children of *Heleus* ἐπὶ τοῖς τομίοις τοῖς αὐτοῖς) took oath, therefore named ὅρκος ἐπὶ τομίων; in which he maintained that he deals justly and rightly, and that he was joyned in affinity to the slain man, *k* which if he were not, he could not prosecute, the Law forbidding. The reason why he stood ἐπὶ τομίων, I suppose is, because they are the instruments of generation, & in that oath, if he were not true, he wished an extirpation of his house, himself and his posterity. In which if he were perjured, he was lyable to no punishment, as among the Romans, *i Juris jurandi contempta religio, satis De-*

a Simeon Meaphrast.

b Pollux. l. 8.

c Hermorim. p. 505.

d Pollux, p. 405

e Vide Vlpian. Demost. pag. 396.

f Pollux loco laudato. Dem. cont. Aristocr. pag. 413.

g Pausanias Lacon p. 113.

h Idem Messaniacis. p. 126.

k Demost. p. 608. & 418. *These agreed, sayes* Possard, *about the punishment, according to the damage received.* De Athen. Mag. pag. 449.

l Lib 2. Cde reb. cred.

num

non ulterem habet. Forſwearing is puniſhed by a revenging God, but if any ſwore falſe by the life of the Prince, he fell under the *Julian* Law, *Læſa Majeſtatis*. After this the priſoner ſwore, which among us will not be allowed. Then ſetting each of them upon [a] two ſilver ſtones, one of which was named Λίθος Ὕβρεως, the ſtone of injury, the other Ἀναιδείας, by *Adrian Junius* thought Ἀναιδείας of innocence, not impudence. Then the appealer asked the priſoner three queſtions, which [b] *Æſchylus* calls τέλεα σφάγια. Firſt, whether he were guilty or no, [c] εἰ κατέκτονας; to which he anſwered, οὐκ οὖν or οὐκ ἔκτονα, yea, or nay: ſecondly, ὅτου κατέκτονας; for what reaſon he did the murther? Thirdly, Τίνος βουλεύματι; who were the Abbetors? Then aroſe there certain Lawyers, ἐξηγηταὶ, who ſhewed whether the Murther was committed [d] ζωὸς δίκῃ in juſtice. (e For in *Athens* there were ſuch Counſellours, to whom in matters of difficulty they had reſort) By ζωὸς δίκῃ, you muſt underſtand thoſe cauſes, in which *f Deaco* thought it lawful to kil a man. As taking him committing uncleaneſs with wife, mother, ſiſter, daughter, or concubine or any who he accounts among his children; the party ſo offending might be ſlain in the manner by him, againſt whom he had treſpaſſed. Likewiſe, in the defence of a mans goods, if the theif were killed impunity was granted. After this inquiſition, they paſſed to ſentence, wch was given very privily, as *Juvenal* intimates, *Ergo occulta teges, ut Curia Martis Athenis*, without ſpeaking (as the *Tabellares ſententiæ* of the *Romans*, in which they wrote C. if they condemned, A. if abſolved, N. L. if the caſe were not manifeſt) hence Ἀρειοπαγίτης σεμνὸς πρᾶος, for one that is cloſe and ſilent; and Ἀρειοπαγίτης, for one that is grave, and who can hold his peace, and in whoſe countenance is [g] *triſtis ſeveritas* ἐπὶ τοῦ σκυθρωποῦ καὶ αὐστηροῦ καὶ σεμνοῦ. Whatſoever they concluded of, ſtood irrecoverable, neither [h] could there be any appeal to another Tribunal. And no marvel. For ſo upright was their ſentence, [i] that none, either Appellant or Priſoner, could ever ſay, that he was unjuſtly condemned. Nay both parties, as well thoſe that are caſt, as they that caſt, are alike contented, [k] ἀπιόντας στέργειν ὁμοίως

τοῖς

[a] Paul. Attic. pag. 24.

[b] Eumenid. pag. 292.

[c] Ibidem.

[d] Æſchylus pag. 293.

[e] Demoſt. vid. pag. 647.

[f] Demoſt. pag. 312.

Vide Demoſth. contra Ariſt.

Vide Sylvium in Orat. pro Flacco.

[g] Terentius.

[h] Ἡ τῶν κρίσις ἐν ἐδάφει τῇ κατεψηφισμένῃ ἔστηκεν. Pachimerius.

[i] Dem. con. Ariſtocrat. p 413.

[k] Ariſtid. Tom. 1. p. 185.

δὲ τὸν ἐγκαλοῦντα. After doom the prisoner was to suffer death. In which Execution also the *Areopagites* had a care lest the innocent should be punished with the guilty. *l* When therefore they had condemned a woman for poysoning another, they deferred the Execution, because she was great with child, and straight way after her delivery put the mother to death. Which custome is by us also observed at our Assizes. *m* It will not be amiss to relate one memorable thing done in the time of *Dolabella* Proconsul of *Asia*; who, when a dame of *Smyrna* was brought before him, for killing her husband and son, who had deprived her of a hopeful youth, begot of her by a former husband, referred the audience of the matter to the *Areopagites*; who commanded the woman and her accuser to appear some hundred years after, that by such a bottome of time, scarce able to be unwinded, they might shew, that they would neither condemn nor acquit the woman. One thing more *a Quintilian* tels us, that they *condemned* a boy putting out the eies of Quailes. Because it was a sign of a mind, likely to prove most pernitious. Their power was shaken and somewhat pluckt down by *b Ephialtes*, a sore enemy of *Oligarchicall* government, and more inclining to the people, who was secretly slain by *c Aristodicus* of *Tanagra*. They sate three daies every month, τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἑκάστου μηνὸς, ἀδίκως.

l Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 5. c. 13.

m Valer. Max. p. 322.

a Lib. quinto.

b Plutarch. vit. d. 355. & Mor. 361.

c Plut. in Pericle. d. 113.

De Judicio in Παλλαδίῳ.

SECT. III.

After the siege of *Troy*, some of the Grecians came with *Diomedes*, *d* who kept the *Palladium*, to the coast of *Attica*; and arriving by night at *Phalerum*, supposing it to be an enemys country, went to make a prey. where *Demophon* ignorant that they were Grecians, came to aid and defend his own, and slew many of the *Argivi*; which they cast out unburied, whose bodies when no beasts had toucht (οὐδὲν πρόσλαπτα ξώων saies *Pollux*; the Interpreter, *nullum vivum*; I better think it no creature either Foul or Beast) *Acamas* shewed that they were *Angivi* having the *Palladium*. Being

d Dictys Cretensis de bello Trojana. l. 5. d. 140.

e Libro octavo p. 406.

warned then by the Oracle (who named them Ἀγνῶτας, that is, *f* neither knowing, nor known) they buried them; and in that place conſecrated the *Palladium*, where they made alſo a judicatory for murthers unwillingly committed, and called it * ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ *juxta Palladium*, as ſome. Here was *Demophon* firſt tried, who returning from this battail, killed with his horſe, ſomewhat diverting, an *Athenian*; *g* For whoſe kinred ſome think he ſatisfied the Law; or generally for the *Argivi*. *b* If any had ſtriken a man or a woman, and the party chanced to die, he was judged in this Court. In ſuch caſes the Law was very favourable; for the party offending was not puniſhed with perpetuall exile; ἀειφυγία, as in wilfull Felony; (kept by us in *England* once, called *Abjuration* where the guilty had his life upon oath, that he would never return) but he did *k* ἐξίχεσθαι, in a gentler term. *l* For it was a cuſtome of old, to give a certain ſumme of mony (the *Attick* Law χρήματα ἐπίνοια, in wilfull all was confiſcate) to the kinred of the ſlain that they might not depart their country: but if they could not purchaſe an aboad, they went ſomewhere elſe. *m* Ovid. *Cæde puer factâ Patroclus Opunta reliquit.* Their diſcontinuance was but for one year, ἄλλως ἡ ἔτους ὁ φονεὺς ἐκ πλείονος εἰς, ἢ ποινὰ ἐπιτιμᾶν. The money diſburſed on ſuch occaſions was properly called ποινὴ, *quaſi* τιμὴ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, from τὸν φόνον murther, as if it were the price of blood. And the Schaliaſt on *Sophocles* tells us that ποινὴ is ſpoken only ἐπὶ καταβολῆς χρημάτων of payment of mony, but abuſively of any puniſhment. *a* If the party wounded had forgiven the offender before his death, or the allies of the man deſperately hurt, none could afterwards compel him to flee; otherwiſe he fled. And in the flight, he betook himſelf to ſome acquaintance, by whom he was cleanſed from the guilt with certain ceremonies of waſhing, which the Romans call *Februa*. So was *Patroclus*, *Peleus*, *Medea*, *Alcmæon* purified: *b* Ovid.

Gracia principium mortis fuit: illa nocentes
Impia luſtratos ponere facta putat.
Alcmæonidem Peleus, ipſum quoque Pelea Phœcis

Cæde

f Schol. Sop. in Oed. Tyr.

* It is ſimply ſo call'd Palladium Ælian Var. l. 5. c. 15. περὶ τὸ ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ.

g Paus. Attic. d. 27.

b Dem. contra Neæram. pag. 727. vid. p. 647.

i Dem. d. 329.

k Demoſthenes, Midiana.

l Euſt. in Il. I. Εθος παλαιὸν ἦν φονοδίκους πόλεως ἐκτὸς εἶναι.

m De Ponto l. 1. Eleg. 4.

n Euſtath. but Demoſthen. ἵνα ἀπ' αὐδήτου ποινὴ ἐκ γένους τοῦ πατροφόνου, *until be obtained remiſſion from ſome of the kinred of the ſlain.*

a Demoſth.

b Faſtorum 2. initio.

Cede per Æmoniæ ſolvit Acaſtus aquas.
Pellam frenatis per inane draconibus Ægeus
Credulus immeritâ Phaſida fovit ope;
Amphiaraïdes Naupactiaſ Acheloo
Solve nefas dixit; ſolvit & ille nefas,
Ah nimium faciles, qui triſtia crimina cædis
Fluminea tolli poſſe putatis aquâ!

In this ceremony they did δέειν, ſacrifice, ſaies *c Demoſthenes*; which cuſtome likewiſe was obſerved by the *d Trazenians* in the luſtration of *Oreſtes* from the blood of his Mother; which I gather by the feaſt which they preſently celebrated there, and yearly obſerved afterward. This manner was done with water, as you may read taken out of the well *Hippocrene*, made by the foot of *Pegaſus*; the ſprinkling was with a little bough of Lawrel, as I ſuppoſe, (by the words following perſwaded to it, which tells us, that when the καθάρσια were buried, there ſprouted out of them a Bay-tree) and after that καθαίρειν, δεῖται, καὶ καθαρθῆναι. This, as I ſaid, was in his flight, Κατιὼν δ' ὅσιὸν καὶ καθαιρέσεως νομίμους ποεῖ. The proceeding in his Court, was firſt, διωμοσία, ſuch as before I mentioned, an oath of each party, accuſer and defendant: ſecondly, λόγοι, their ſpeeches on both ſides: thirdly, γνῶσις δικάσεως, Judgment. If the priſoner were found guilty, that is, unwilligly to have murthered, then had he a time appointed him, how long he ſhould flee, as above ſaid, until he he had made peace and gotten pardon from the Couſins of the deceaſed.

c Κατὰ Βεοτοῦ. p. 414.
d Pauſan. Corinth. p. 74. Καθῆραι δὲ φασιν Ὀρέστην καθαφοῖσι καὶ ἄλλοις, &c.

De Judiciis in Δελφινίῳ. Πρυτανείῳ Φρεαττῷ.

SECT. IV.

AT Athens there was a Temple erected by *c Ægeus* (who lived in *Delphinium*) to the honor of *Apollo Delphinius* and *Diana Delphinia*; *a* where was the Tribunal named ἐν Δελφινίῳ or ἐπὶ Δελφινίῳ δικαστήριον.* In this Judicatory were heard caſes of murther, when the party confeſſed the fact, but pleaded that it was legitimate. *b* For the Law required no puniſhment of any man that ſhould kill another taking him committing adultery with his Wife, or unclean-

c Plutarch. p. 4. l. 59.
a Schol Ariſt. pag. 333.
* Ælian. Var. l. 5. c. 15.
b Demoſth. contra Ariſt. p. 410, 411.

neſs with his Mother, Siſter, Daughter, Concubine, or free Children. Likewiſe in preſervation of his goods, or own defence he ſpilt blood, it was not capital. The firſt that was arraigned here was *Theſeus*, maintaining the right he had to ſlay the Theeves, ſaies *e Pollux*, (I know not whether he mean *Sciron* and *Procruſtes* &c.) and *Pallas* with his children who were Rebels. Before this trial of *Theſeus*, whoſoever had ſlain any body was compelled to flee the Country, or ſtaying die; were the cauſe never ſo juſt Ἐν Πρυτανείῳ. Here they fate on things inanimate. As if a ſtone, timber, iron, or ſuch like fall on a man, and kill him, if the party that flung this be not known, ſentence was paſt on that thing which ſlew him, and the *f* Σκυλοδικαι, that were the Maſters of this Court, were to ſee this thing caſt out of the Territories of *Athens*; to which *g Æſchines* alludes. Τὰ μὲν ξύλα καὶ τοὺς λίθους, καὶ ἐὰν σίδηρον, τὰ ἄφωνα, καὶ ἀψύχωτα, ἐὰν τίνα ἐμπέσοντα ἀποκτείνῃ ἐκβεβλήκασιν. The firſt thing that here was judged was an Axe, wherewith the Prieſt whom they call Βουτύπον, had ſlain an Ox on the altar of *Jupiter Polieus* in the time of *Erectheus*. Ἐν φρεάττοι. In that part of *Piræum* which is next the Sea, is a place which they name φρεάττυς from *Phreuttus* an *Heros*, ſome think; not becauſe it ſtood in a pit, whence *h Pollux* names it ἐν φρεάτι. Here they were judged who having fled out of another country for unwilful murther μήπω ὑπὸ ἐκβαλόντων αὐτὸν ἡσυχίων, they that drove him out not acquitting him, if in the ſpace of this exile it happened that he wittingly ſlew another he anſwered here. The proceeding was in this ſort. The Judges aſſembled ἐν φρεάττοι, in a place ſeated on the Sea, κ' τόπον ἐπικείμενον ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ, where the *guilty* drawing near in a *boat* or *bark* was to make his apology, ἕως ἂν ἀπόβωνται not coming to *land* or touching it, neither caſting anchor, *l* or moaring his bark, and if he were found guilty he underwent deſerved puniſhment: if he were not found guilty they cleared him of that fact, not diſcharging him of the former πρὸς ἢ ἐπιστρέφας τὴν φυγὴν ἴσχει. I know not whether I may be of that opinion that others are, in this, that if he were caſt in this tryal, he was expoſed

e Lib. 8. p. 406.
d Pauſan. Att. p. 27.
f Pollux loco citato.
g Contra Ctefiph. p. 103.
h Lib. octav. 406.
i Demoſth. con. Ariſt. 415.
k Demoſth.
l Rodolphus Gualter. *out of Pollux interprets it* Scalam terræ injicientem; *putting down a ladder; the Greek* καταβάθραν. *m* Demoſth.

exposed to the cruel mercy of the wind and waves. These last quoted words seem to contradict it. The first that ever answered here was *Teucer*, proving himself to be innocent of the death of *Ajax*: a whom they treacherously circumvented because he defended not his father *Telamon*, drove out of *Salamis*; unto which that he might be restored he made appeal to this Court. Which gives light to b *Aristotle* ὅσα περὶ φόνου εἰσάγεται δίκαι, ἐπὶ παιδὶ ἢ πατρὶ ἢ ὅλως τοῖς ἀναιρέσεως τυγχάνουσιν· οἷον Αἰάντων λέγεται καὶ τὸ ἐν Φρεαττοῖ δικάσασθαι: Judicatories concerning men flying for murther, that care for their bringing back again, such as in *Athens*, τὸ ἐν Φρεαττοῖ. When the party prosecuting will not admit of reconciliation.

a Dictis crerensis de bello Trojano lib. 6. p. 145.

b Politic. 4. c. 17.

SECT. V.

De Tribunalibus reliquis. Παρὰ βουν. Τείγαιον. Βατραχίδην. Φρεαττοῖ. Τὸ ἐπὶ Λύκῳ, Μικρὸν δικαστήριον. Ἐν Ἀρδηττῷ. Διακριτήριον.

BEsides these Courts of blood and causes criminal, there were for civil matters the *Heliæa*, of which before for the excellency of it I treated. παρὰ βουν. Of this name there are two ὁ παρὰ βουν μέζων καὶ μέσος, the greater and the middle. In this Court were handled matters, saies *Petit*, that exceeded not one drachm, to which c *Aristotle* might be thought to look, speaking of Judicatories, ἐν αἷς μικρῶν συμβολαίων δίκαι, ὅσαι δραχμιαῖαι &c. And this was the meaning of d *Pausanias*, Ἐπ' ἐλαχίστοις ἀμφίγυον αἰεὶ ἄγων. Suing here for the least occasions. The *Undecimviri* were Judges of the Court which made *Petit.* to suppose that it was not to be reckoned among the δίκας δικαστικάς. It stood e ἐν ἀφανεῖ τινι τόπῳ, in an obscure place of the City, whence ἐκ παραδείγματος, in f *Demosthenes*, is by *Ulpian* expounded privily, by a *Metaphor* taken from the situation of the Judicatory; or, παρὰ πλῆθος ἀποκρύφων ἐν τοῖς οἰκοδομήμασιν ὄντων, καὶ κρύφα τῶν φανερῶν, from goods secretly hidden. Ἐν ὑποδείσῳ, ἀντὶ τοῦ λάβδα, Τείγωνον. from the form of it, which seems to have been triangular. Βατραχίδην and Φρεαττοῖ, from the colours that were painted upon the post of the entry, answerable

c Polit. lib. 4. c. 17.

d Attici. p. 27. l. 13.

e Pausanias. ibidem.

f Pag. 450.

g Aristotles Athen. Rep. apud Arist. Sch. pag. 371.

able to which there was a ſtaff given to the Judges, that they might know in what Court to ſit. For they preſently went to that Court which had the ſame colour with their ſtaff. Τὸ ἐπὶ Λύκῳ, from the ſtatue of *Lycus* an *Heros*, which was there ſet up, having the face of a wolf; where likewiſe the ſtatue of *Juno* ſtood viſaged in the ſame manner. But we muſt not omit that the image of *Lycus* was erected in every Court, hence *b* Λύκου δικαί, *Lycidecæ*, for ſycophants and ſuch as corrupt judgment, becauſe that ſuch perſons were every frequent and buſie there; And ſo think I *Pollux* is to be read, *a* πάλαι γ' Ἀθήνησιν οἱ συνδικάζοντες τὰ δικαστήρια (underſtand περὶ ὧν or the like) at which they who bribed the Judicatories met. *Zenobius* helps my conjecture, ἔνθα οἱ διαφθείροντες καὶ συναράττοντο καὶ δίκαι γραφόμεναι συκοφάνται. The *b* Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes* writes that this noble *Lycus* had a Temple neer the Judicatory, where the Judges divided their money for pay, three oboli to each a day. *c* Μετίχου δικαστήριον. This was a great Judicatory; ſo named from *Metichus* an artificer which built it. Here, who had paſſed thirty years of his age, and was well and Nobly deſcended, and owed nothing to the publick Treaſury, might be choſen Judge. For of ſuch they all conſiſted, ἐν Ἀρδήττῳ. Some have falſely ſuppoſed that there was a Tribunal ſo called: neither did *d* *Meurſius* think otherwiſe when he tranſlated theſe words, of *e* *Pollux*, ἐν Ἀρδήττῳ δικαστηρίῳ, *apud tribunal Ardettum*. The fault crept in by the negligence of the tranſcriber; for the place is thus to be read, ὄμνυον ἐν Ἀρδήττῳ δικαστηρίῳ. The Judicatories were wont to take Oath or be ſworn in *Ardettus*. *Ardettus* is a place neer the River *Iliſſus*, ſo named from *Ardettus* a Peer, who ſwore the people, being in ſedition and mutinie, to love and amity. Where afterwards, as is moſt probable, the Judges took oath (I cannot juſtly ſay preſently after their election) to give ſentence according to the Laws, and concerning things to which no laws were enacted, in equity and juſtice, *f* *by Apollo Patrius, Ceres, and Jupiter Rex.* And this the Etymologiſt affirms, ſpeaking of *Ardettus*, *g* ἐν τούτῳ ὤμνυον

b Zenobius.

a Lib. octavo. p. 406. *The place is extreamly corrupted, as you may perceive by the falſe Greek.*

b Veſp. p. 457.

c Pollux. l. 8.

d Athen. Att. l. 2. c. 12. p. 124.

e Lib. 8. pag. 406.

f Ἀπόλλω Πατρῷον, καὶ Δήμητρα, καὶ Διὰ Βασιλέα.

g Etym. mag. p. 147.

ὀμνύουσι οἱ δικασταὶ δικάσειν ὅσιον. The Judges in this place took their Oath touching the discharge of their office. From whence among the Ancients such as would presently swear, were called *h Ardetti*, provebially; as also those who were perjurious and forsworne. Καὶ Ἀρδήτους ἐπάγειν. Thus have we viewed the Athenian Judicatories in number tenn. For Murther, *Areopagus*, *Palladium*, *Delphinium*, *Prytaneum*, and *Phreattys*: For other matters *Heliæa*, *Trigonum*, *Parabystum* (not the *Mesdium* but *Majus*) *Mutibi forum*, *& ad Lycum*, where the Διαιτηταὶ were wont to sit, sayes *k Pussardus*, of whom, because *l Emmius* numbers them among *Judicia quatuor precipua*, the four chief Courts, I will now speak. Out of every Tribe were chosen *m* forty four men, *n* above threescore years old, who judged in several Tribes, as it fell to them by lot. And if any refused to sit according to his lot, he was deprived of the priviledges of an *Athenian* Citizen. *o* In former time there came no controversie into the Courts, which had not first past through their hands; (if it exceeded tenne drachmes; Although *p Ulpian* tells us that they determined of petty businesses) but that seems to be, Περὶ ἱερῶν, holy matters, if *Pollux* be so to be read. For some things there were which came not under their Jurisdiction. Whatever the Διαιτηταὶ κληρωτοὶ judged, if the Plaintiff and Defendant, or either of them liked not the award, they might referre it to the Senate (as appears out of the *q* Argument of *Demost. Orat. contra Callippum, & Pollux*) at which removing of the suit they were to cast their suffrages into a pot, as they gave them on what side soever, for the Plaintiff by themselves, and for the Defendant by themselves. *r* When they were appointed for the hearing of a case, they were to meet at the place for them ordained, there to expect both parties untill the even, at which time, if neither, or but one was present, it was in their power to fine them according to the Law. At the time they entred the suit, and wrote the accusation, with the fine which was required for dammages, they received as a fee from the Plaintiff one drachme which

h Casaub. Theoph. Char. p. 175.
i Etym. Mag. loco laudato.
k De Mag. Athen p. 540.
l Descrip. Reip. Ath. p. 41.
m Ulpian. in Dem. p. 342.
n Pollux l 8. p. 407.
o Pollux. ib.
p Demosth. loco citato.
q Pag. 678.
r Lib. 8. p. 407.
s Vide Demidian, &c. Ulpian in illum. p. 344.

which they called ᵗ Διάζειν, as alſo another from the defendant, when they gave him his oath. This office was but annual; And becauſe they would pervert juſtice, (as ᵘ *Demoſthenes* is witneſſe, * although they were not to judge before they had ſworne) give ſentence according to favour, envie, or for gaine, therefore ˣ at the years end they made an account of their function upon the laſt day of ʸ *Thargelion*, on which it was lawful for any to ſpeak what he could object againſt them, and if any were faulty, they were ἄτιμοι. Thus much of the Διαιηταὶ Καθεσταμένοι. There were other Διαιηταὶ likewiſe, ſuch as our Civilians call *Arbitri compromiſſarii*, and we in Engliſh Arbitrators: whom two parties choſe with a reſolution to ſtand to their determination, whether in matter of debt, covenant, or other controverſie whatſoever. Such by the *Attick* law any might requeſt, but with a neceſſity of abiding at their judgment. ᶻ For they could not appeal from them to any other court. To referre matters to their Arbitrement, the Greeks terme Ἐπιτρέπειν Διαίτας. And it will not be ſuperfluous here to relate the ſtory of *Bunas* an *Athenian*, whom when the *Elei* and *Calydonii* had choſen arbitrator in a difference after he had heard both parties, he prolonged the ſentence until at laſt he died. Whence it grew to a proverbe, ᵃ Βοῦνας διαίζει, *Bunas judicat*, *Bunas* judgeth, of thoſe that deſer to paſſe ſentence, and hold a caſe long in ſuſpenſe.

ᵗ Pollux 8. c. 10. p. 408.

ᵘ Orat. in Bœotum pro dote.

* Idem pag. 682. n. 41.

ˣ Vlpian loco laudato p. 342.

ʸ Petit. Miſcel. l. 8. p. 221.

ᶻ Vide legem apud Dem. p. 344.

ᵃ Zenobius.

CAP. IV.

De Nominibus Iudicialibus.

HAving thus treated of the *Attick* Courts, it followes that I ſpeak of their Termes of Law, Writs, and Accuſations. Theſe were of two ſorts, private, and publick. The publick were properly termed Κατηγορίαι, ſaies ᵇ *Emmius*. Of Κατηγοριῶν there were divers ſorts. Γραφὴ, εἴσοδος, ἔνδειξις, ἀπαγωγὴ, ἀφόρισις, ἀπόφασις, ἀπαγγελία. Γραφὴ, ſaies ᶜ *Vlpian* ἐπὶ πᾶσι ἐγκλήμασι, of any treſpaſſe againſt the Law, by which the Statutes

ᵇ Deſcrip. Reip. Ath. pag. 41.

ᶜ In Dem. pro Corona. p. 1. 9.

Statutes of the Commonwealth are violated; and moſt properly, *d* quoth he, elſewhere, it ſignifies an accuſation made according to the Law; or to come nearer, it is the ſame which in Engliſh we call a *e* Writ of Right, in Latine *Actio*, or *Formula*, as in *f Sueton*, *Injuriarum formulas intendere*, to ſerve a man with a Writ. *g* φάσις is a kind of an information made againſt any for abuſes in the Mines, or Cuſtome houſes, for converting Tribute mony to a mans own uſe, or the like. Which offences were brought to the *Archon* in writing, with the names of the accuſer and accuſed, and the fine, which the parties convinced, ſhould undergoe, to be paid to him to whom the wrong was offered. But if the Informer had not the fifth part of the ſuffrages, he was to lay down the ſixt part of the fine, which the *h* Orators call ἐπωβελίαν, from ὀβολὸς becauſe it ſignifies the ſixt part of a Drachm. At the end of the accuſation, the informer was to ſubſcribe the names of the witneſſes that were preſent. In general, all diſcoveries of private injuries are called φάσεις; which in Latin you may name *delationes*. For which the Romans allotted the fourth part of the forfeit, whence they are ſtiled *Quadruplatores*; but among the *Athenians* not ſo, if *i Pollux* ſay right, ἢ τὸ μισθὸν ἐγίγνετο τῷ ἀδικηθέντι, εἰ μὴ ἄλλος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φαίνοιτο, the amercement fell to the perſon injured, although another accuſed for him. If the fine were written down a thouſand Drachms, & the Accuſer had not the fift part of the voices, he paid two hundred and one Drachme: if it exceeded a thouſand, four hundred and one. Ἔνδειξις is a Writ againſt thoſe that owe to the City Treaſury, and yet go about to bear office, ſaies *k Ulpian*, which by the *Attick* Law was utterly forbidden. The *l* Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes* takes it for the accuſing of any that did amiſs in publick affairs. and the *m* Interpreter of *Demoſthenes* in another place, ὅτι τῶν ἀδίκων for men diſfranchiſed. But *n Pollux* teaches us that it is a declaration made to the *Archon* againſt one taken in the manner, which the *Greeks* termed ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ, *o Schol. Nazian.* ἐπ' αὐτοφώρου τῆς κλοπῆς, *Pollux* expreſſes by ὁμολογουμένου ἀδικήματος, when the offence is confeſſed. Becauſe men ſo apprehended were forced

d Orat. cont. Lep. 296.
e Sir T. Smith Com. wealth of Eng. l. 2. c. 10.
f In Vitellio.
g Pollux l. 8. p. 387.
h Demoſth. cont. Caricl. p. 699 n 6. cont. Everg. & Mneſib p. 646. n. 90. cont. Steph. 1. & 2. A. p. 22. n. 9. contra Onetora. Exul. 6. P. 528. n. 19. cont. Apho β. p. 508. m. 97.
i Onomaſt. l. 8. c. 6. p. 387.
k Demoſth. p. 391.
l In Equit. p. 303.
m Pag. 469.
n Onom. l. 8. p. 388.
o In Stelit. 2.

forced to condemn themselves; no further evidence required than from their own mouths. By which acknowledgment of their guiltiness, without greater trial, they received their doom: *p* as among us when a prisoner arraigned, confesseth his Indictment to be true, no twelve men go upon him: there resteth but the Judges sentence of the pain of death. Whence grew our Proverb, Confess and be Hanged. *q* Πολλοὶ ἀμολογησάμενοι ἀδικήματα ἀπέθανον. ὁ κείμενος, ἀλλὰ πρακτέος θανάτου. He that thus made his declaration, was to subscribe his name, that if he were false, he might be liable to the Writ, ψευδοῦς ἐνδείξεως. The declaration was against men who were not present. Ἀπαγωγή, is a carrying of a man before the Magistrate, being taken in the fact, whom otherwise he was to accuse by declaration in his absence. By which a thousand Drachms were endangered. In this ἀπαγωγῆ, they brought not all offenders to the same Magistrates, but according as they were made Judges of such and such offences; *r* sometimes to the eleven; sometimes to the *s Thesmothetæ*; sometimes to the *Archon*. Now if a man had found out any indebted to the publick Treasury; or bound for those places or Countries where it was not permitted for him to go; or one who had committed Murther; if by reason of weakness he durst not venture to apprehend the person, and ἀπάγειν, he would perhaps fetch the *Archon* to the house where such a party lay hid, which the *Attick* Lawyers term ἀμφοδεύειν. Ἀποστασίου, is when a fellon hath committed murther, and flies for succor to any, (as the Law suffered any to receive him) if the kinred of the slain or others had requir'd the *Malefactor* to be delivered to them and the Protector would not, it was lawful to enter into his house and carry away any three persons, as some translate it, or all save three, ἄγειν τρεῖς, as others, who were to answer for the outrage done. But who so entred unjustly, was not to escape unpunished. Εἰσαγγελία, saies * *Ulpian*, is an accusation concerning great and publick matters, such as *x* elsewhere he speaks of, to wit the dissolution of the *Democracie*; or if an Orator had spoken what was not for the benefit of the weale publick; if any went to Warrs before they were sent,

p Sir T. Smith Common W. of Engl. l. 2. c. 26. p. 281.
q Loco laud.
r Ulp. in Dem. p. 389.
s Idem. p. 407.
t Dem. p. 416.
u Idem cont. Arist. p. 41.
* In Dem. p. 48.
x Eund. p. 453.

sent, or betray'd a Garrison, army, or fleet. In other accusations, if the accuser had not the fifth part of the suffrages, he was fined a thousand Drachms, and lost the priviledges of a Citizen in this he was uncontrolable. But in after time, because men would accuse presently for none, or small offences, therefore was there a Law enacted, that whosoever accused by *συκοφαντία*, and had not the fifth part of voices on his side, was fined a thousand Drachms, although he lost not the priviledges of a Citizen. This *συκοφαντία* contained no written crimes, but was only by bare word of mouth, and as the accusation was given, so was the defence made according to the Law called *Εἰσαγγελτικὸς*. The Senate was *Judge*. (*Pollux* saies that *Solon* made a thousand to sit on this, and *Phalareus* 1500 where the Interpreter errs; for *οἱ πεντακόσιοι* is 500 to them, as *καὶ τοὺς πεντακοσίους* in *Demosthenes*, and somwhat more) and whom they found delinquent, if in small faults, they fined, but if the offence were heinous, they committed him to prison. Thus much for publick actions, Private were these that follow, more properly call'd *δίκαι*.

Δίκαι αἰκείας δ'. is an action against a man, who, when two shall scuffle, gives the first blow, which the *y* Greeks call *ἀρξαι πληγὰν ἀδίκως*. *x* The matter was heard before the Judges and though the Law ordained not any set sum of mony for damnages yet it was permitted for the party smitten to write down what he thought fitting. *a* The reason why these actions were so strictly looked into, was least any not able to defend himself with his hands, should seek to revenge himself with stones, or other hurtful weapon,

b *Καπηλείου δ'*. Somewhat neer our proviso of giving the lye, lest by running and reproachful words, men be provoked to blows. *Βλάβης δ'*. Is when any man receives damnage and hurt in estate by another man. *c* As to turn water into his ground, by which it is annoyed, *d* To refuse to pay mony where it is required, or to give it to another, *e* To promise to bear witness in a suit, and then not be present, by which the rase fals, & the like. *Παρακαταθήκης δ'*. About pawns, I suppose, which men that needed mony were wont to leave with

y Dem. p. 410. vide Vlp. ib. & Arg. Orat. cont. Everg. p. 837.
x Sch. Arist. Com. p. 745.
a Dem. con. Con. p. 696.
b Idem ibid.
c Arg. Orat. Dem. contra Gallicl. em.
d Dem. contra Callip. p. 680. n. 20.
e Dem. cont. Tim. p. 659. n. 25.

with the usurers; *f* as cloaths, houshold stuff, &c. Or about money put to the *banck*, which the exchangers did imploy to the advantage of the owners, as I gather out of *g Demosthenes*. The word imports both. Ἀποστασίου δ. Of divorce. *h* For they were wont to put away their wives, in former time, upon discontent or hope of greater portions; which divorce they called ἀπυτμοσία, and as *Lysias* ἀπυτμῆσθαι on the husbands side; and on the wives ἀπολιπεῖν: for he did as it were turn her away, she was said to forsake him. Κακώσεως δ. Of ill usage of Parents as not relieving them if they were poor: Of wives against husbands, of Pupils against Tutors. Κλοπῆς of theft, after what manner soever; Which if it were by day, was not capital, but by night was deadly. Κακώσεως δ. Such as our Act of Parliament hath allotted for extortion; *i* it being by a Law provided in *Athens* that none should take too much Use, although once allowed by *Solon*, that any might make the best of his mony: which he terms καθαρὸν ἀργύριον. Of Usury I shall speak more in the Chapter of mony. Συμβολαίων δ. When men had bargained and would not stand to it. *l'Aristotle.* Δίκαι περὶ ἁπλῶν καὶ συμβολαίων.

Συνθήκης ἐξαβάσεως δ. When men broke the Articles which they made to each other, about dividing of inheritance between Man an Man; or between City and City; concerning free trading; as that of the *Carthaginians*, with the *Romans*. *Arist. Pol.* 3. *c.* 6. or the like *m* These Συνθῆκαι were usually confirmed by oath to each other. Ἀποδοκασίας δ. A contestation about bearing office, in which they seek to have a time appointed, when a man shall enter into it. For the discharge whereof they are to prove him fit. Ἐπικληρίας δ. When parents died & left their daughters inheritrices, the kindred was wont to sue each other, to make it appear, who was nearest joyned in blood, that he might marry her. Hence a virgin, to whom an inheritance falls, is called ἐπίκληρος. Διαίτης, *Controversia.* Μισθώσεως δ. About letting of Houses. (For *Herodotus* terms that ἐκθόσθαι, which other Greek writers μισθοῦσθαι, it is as well to set to hire, as to take to rent, ἐκθοῦ and ἐκμισθοῦ to let out. Which they often did for want of

f Sch. Arist. 137. E.
g Cont Phor. p. 555. n. 7. 8.
h V. Cujacium. Obse. l. 6. c. 15.
i This is reckoned among the Laws which were made for private men. Vlp. in Dem. p. 481.
k V. Casaub. in Theoph. p. 191 Char.
l Poliz. l. 2. c. 3.
m Dem. p. 695. n. 18.
n Vlp. in Dem. p. 462. & 310.
o Pollux. l. 3. c. 5. p. 136.

Money, which that they might obtain the quicker, they wrote over their doors as we use to do, This House is to be Let. Which Custom *Adenedemus* in *p Terence* expresses --*Inscripsi illico*, ÆDES MERCEDE.) This writ was properly against Guardians of Orphans (not concerning men of years, such as immediatly in before spoken) who having the charge upon them of tuition, were to imploy for the benefit of their Pupils what was left them: they, therefore, make known to the *Archon* that such a house was to be let, he then put it out upon some pledge for security. But if the house were let under the yearly rent it could bring in, or was suffered to remain void of a Tenent, to the loss of the Pupil, then was it lawful for any man to sue the Guardian in the *Archons* court, upon a Writ of Μισθώσεως οἴκου. ἐπιτροπῆς. I have observed it to have been a custom among the Ancients, when they perceived themselves to draw near to death, to call for some one, to whose care they would commit their children, & delivering them into their hands, beseech them to have a tender eye over them, & to provide for them what should be most convenient; such as *Oedipus* in *q Sophocles* entreats of *Theseus* in behalf of his daughters. — Ὦ φίλον κάρα. Δός μοι χερὸς σῆς πίστ' ἀρχαίαν τάνδε, Τμητὸς τε παῖδας, τῇ δὲ ᾗ καταίνεσον Μήποτε σεμνώσειν τῶνδ' ἑκών, πλὴν δ' ὅσ' ἂν Μέλλῃς θεσπῶν δ', ὡς μάθῃσιν σ' ὧνπερ ἀν. Not unlike is that of the *r Comœdian* under the person of *Chrysis*, committing *Glycerium* to the Tuition of *Pamphilus*.

p Heaut. Act. 3. Sc. 1.

q Oedip. Col. p. 314.

r Ter. Andr. Act. 1. Sc. 5.

Accessi: vos semotæ: nos soli: incipis:
Mi Pamphile, hujus formam atque ætatem vides:
Nec clam te est, quàm illi nunc utraque inutiles
Et ad pudicitiam, & tutandum rem sient.
Quod ego te hanc per dextram oro, & ingenium tuum,
Per tuam fidem, perque hujus solitudinem
Te obtestor ne abs te hanc segreges, non deseras.
Si te in Germani fratris dilexi loco,
Sive hæc te solum semper fecit maximi,
Seu tibi morigera fuit in rebus omnibus.
Te isti virum do, amicum, tutorem, patrem:

Bona vestra hæc tibi committo, & tua manibus fidei.
Hanc mihi IN MANUM DAT, *mors continua ipsum occupat.*

But among the *Athenians* the use was to nominate in their Testaments and last Wills, whom they would have to be Guardians. Which office after they had undertaken, if they should defraud the Orphans of their patrimonie, or any part thereof, they were sued with a writ ἐπιτροπῆς as ſ *Demosthenes* did sue his as soon as he came to age. But if the matter were not questioned within five years after the Pupil was admitted among the number of men, by the t Law, the Guardian could not be taxed. Ἀποστασίου, of a Master against a Servant ingratefull for his manumission, not doing his duty to his Master. Because, as u *Demosthenes* witnesses, it was the nature of Servants once made free, not only to be ingratefull, but also to hate their Masters most of all men, as those who had been conscious to their servitude. It was enacted therefore that whosoever was convicted of ingratitude should again be made a bondslave. x *Valerius Maximus.* *Age quid illud institutum Athenarum, quàm memorabile? quod convictus à patrono libertus ingratus, jure libertatis exuitur.* The Romans did not only acquit them of the liberty of the City (which the *Athenians* gave not) but made them also slaves, which punishment they term y *Maximam capitis diminutionem.* Δίκη. if any man put away his Wife, he was to restore her portion again; if he refused, he was in ἐπιτιμήματος πεντήκοντα, that is, every month for one pound to pay nine *obeli*, which the *Atticks* term ὀβολοὺς τόκους, the Revenue of her dowry. The writ whereby he was sued was Δίκη προικὸς, for the repayment. ἀπογραφὴ, if any went to Law, as claiming title of an house, he was first to serve him that dwelled in it with a Writ ἀπογραφὴ, by which he demands the Rent for the time the Defendant had the house, if it were for any parcel of land, there was a writ καρπῶν given out, for the provent and fruit thereof, afterwards ſ (in both cases alike) they proceeded to an ἰσάγειν δίκην, in which they claimed right and title to the house or land. Although in these Writs the Defendant were

ſ Plut. in vita ejus.

t Demoſt. p. 724. l. 22.

u Pag. 465.

x Lib. 2. c. 2. pag. 670.

y Justin. Inſt. l. 2. T. 16.

z Demosth. p. 733.

x Dem. p. 655. m. 58.

were cast, yet could he keep justly either house or land: but if in a third trial, which they call ἔξωλης, he were overthrown, he was compelled to relinquish his possession. This ἔξωλης also is a Writ against all those that would cast an inhabitant out of his house; it being termed from ἔξωλον, to throw forth. *a* It is also a Writ of Execution against any overthrown in the Court, and fined a thousand Drachmes, which at such a day he was to pay, and if he laid it not down upon the naile, there went forth a Writ ἔξωλης, to make entry upon the lands and possessions of him so cast. It is also a Writ against any who will not suffer him, who hath bought any thing of the publick to reap the fruit thereof. Who either withholds any thing from the owner, or violently takes from any, &c. Εἰς ἀλλοτρίου αἵρεσιν. When two had been partners in estates, and one of them would have a dividence made, if the other refused, he might be constrained to it by the Writ. Βεβαιώσεως, Because the Market place among the *Greeks* was the fittest to cheat & coosen in, as *Anacharsis* was wont to say, therefore the *Athenians* enacted that none should buy in the Market-place; to which the *Scythian* wiseman pointed likewise, saying, that they forbad to speak false, and yet did ὅτι ἐν τοῖς πραγματείοις ψεύδονται if any man bargained for any thing, and another sued and doubted of the right of it, *c* he might require the seller to confirm the lawfulnesse of the thing sold, and maintain it against all controversie, otherwise the seller was liable to Βεβαιώσεως δίκη. For although in *Athens* they bought for the most part *Græcâ fide*, with ready mony; as *d Scaliger*, & *e Casaubon* truly interpret it, *f Turnebus*, *Repræsentatâ pecuniâ*: yet sometime gave they Earnest onely to make the thing sure, which the Greeks and Latines call *g* ἀρραβῶν, from the *Hebrew* עֵרָבוֹן. This seems to me to have been the hundreth part of the mony which was to be paid for the thing bought, as *i Stobæus* out of *Theophrastus*. Where you may read likewise that it was the custome, when any thing was to be sold, to bring a note thereof to the Magistrate some threscore daies before. Εἰς ἐμφανῆ κατάστασιν, For the laying open of any thing, concerning which was a suit in Law; by *y Pollux* his words

a Vlpian in Dem. p. 340.

b Apud Laert. pag. 74.

c Pollux l. 8. c. 6. p. 385.

d In Auson. Lect. l. 2. c. 6.
e In Theoph. Char. p. 312.
f Adversariorum l. 4. c. 13.
g Don. quod prius datur, ut reliquum red. datur. in Ter. Heaut. Act. 3. Sc. 3.
h Vide Disque in Basil. Sel.
i Sermone 42.
k Onomast. l. 8. c. 6. p. 384.

words I may conjecture, goods or money privily taken away. Ἐξαιρέσεως δίκη. When any should offer to take another mans servant and make him free against the will of the Master which the Greek term *l* μὴ δικαίως ἀνδραποδίου ἀπολύσω.

l Demost. p. 718. n. 29.

Ἀμφισβήτησις is a suit about nearness of blood, in matter of inheritance, when a man dies without issue of his own body. Παραγραφὴ. When a man went to prove that he was to challenge the inheritance of right, as near of blood; or upon some other conditions: from παραγραφάλλειν; because he laid down the tenth part of the inheritance; which if he were cast in Law, he was to pay, if the cause were private, sayes *m Budæus*: but if publick, the fift. *n* Διαμαρτυρία. When any shall protest that an inheritance doth hang in controversie, and is ἐπίδικος; as a true heir being still alive: of which thing chiefly treats the Oration of *Demosthenes* against *Leochares*. Ἐπίσκηψις When any shall try to falsifie the διαμαρτυρία. Ἀντιγραφὴ. When men went to Law about kinred, as to prove themselves of such and such houses.

m Paud. Prin. p. 100.

n Dem. p. 620. n 78.

Here followeth the terms promiscuous, private and publick, which are publick and lawful for any to prosecute.

See Pollux p. 286.

Ἀποστάσιον. All strangers in *Athens* were compelled by the Law to get them Patrons) as my most worthy Schoolmaster, the glory of his time *o* Mr *Matthew Bust* hath observed, whom for honours sake I name) or else they might be questioned, and if they were convicted their goods were sold and put into the City Treasury. Ἀχαριστία of ingratitude against those who shewed not themselves thankfull to those who had well deserved of them. ξενίας the same with ἀποστάσιον, when any will reckon himself among the number of Citizens who never had been made free, by which he purchased imprisonment, until such times as there was a Court kept, and then he was sold. Μαρτυρία when a man is eye witnesse of a matter. Ἐκμαρτυρία, when another witnesses from the report of him that saw it. ψευδομαρτύριον false witnesse, which to prosecute in Law they term ἐπιψευδομαρτύριον. Λιποματρύριον, when one was eye-witnesse, and promised to testifie, yet would not appear at the appointed time, which they were wont to compel them to do, which they call κλητεύειν, after which citation the party was

o In Epist. Dedic. suo Eu-chiatensi præfixa ad Richar Cantuariensem Archiepiscopũ.

was to be at Court, or forſwear that he ſaw not the matter, or was not preſent; otherwiſe he was to pay a thouſand drachms, in which ſumme to be fined the *Attick* Lawyers give the appellation ἐπωβελία δίκαι. Δώρων γενομένων, When the Judges were corrupted with Bribes. ἀντιδωρία, againſt thoſe that did corrupt them. Ἀργία of a man convinced of idleneſs; which once taken, *Draco* puniſhed the delinquent with loſs of the City priviledges: *Solon*, not unleſs he were thrice delinquent. Δειλοστρατία, When any of the Marriners ran away from their ſhips. Ἀναυμαχία, When the Marriners that ſtayed in the Ships would not fight, if occaſion required. ψευδογραφῆς, when one would falſly accuſe; there was likewiſe againſt them a Writ ἐπιψευδομαρτυρίου. ψευδοκλητείας, Againſt thoſe that unjuſtly cite to the Court. ξενίας when any is accuſed of encroaching into the number of Citizens, and gives gifts to eſcape free. παρανόμων, when any was accuſed of making a Decree or Law contrary to former ſtatutes. This accuſation was called εἰσαγωγή, becauſe the accuſer ſwore that it was againſt the Lawes, or unjuſt, or inconvenient for the Common-wealth. Δοκιμασία, was an examination of the Magiſtrates whether they were fit to govern or no. Whether the Orators were not given to Luſt, and Incontinency; whether they had not ſpent their patrimonies, or dealt unkindly with their Parents, or led a life any otherways blameable; whereupon they were diſcarded the priviledges of the City, and not ſuffered to plead, or ſpeak publickly. Εὐθύνη, An account of the publick offices borne, laying out of mony, and diſpatching Ambaſſages, made to the Tenne *Logiſtæ*, (For the breach of which went out a Writ, Λογίου λόγον δοῦναι, *Rationem reddere*) if concerning injuries given to the Judges. Προβολὴ an accuſation againſt thoſe who are ill-affected toward the Common-wealth, made by the decree of the people, and ſuch as are well willers to the ſtate. Προβολὴ likewiſe are accuſations againſt men injurious, ξυνεόρτους, [p] and ſuch as are delinquent againſt the feſtivirals; as the oration of *Demoſthenes* againſt *Midias*. Ῥωμοσία, An oath which the Accuſer took, that

[p] Lib. Arg. Midiom.

q Vlpian in Dem. 226.

he would justly accuse. q Ἀπωμοσία, The defendants oath that he had done no wrong. Ἐξωμοσία, an oath of Ambassadors or men chosen for state service, that by reason of sickness they cannot give attendance. They may do it by a proxie, if they please. It is likewise the Oath of one called to witness, wherein he swears that he knows nothing of the business. Ἀπωμοσία, when others shall swear that pretended weakness, was only a shift to put of the burthen of publick office which the State laid on them. Τπωμοσία, an accusation of a Law or decree unprofitable, against the motioner, as above said, παραγραφὴ, and παραμαρτύρει, when a man shall object a case not to be entred rightly, that the writ ought to be such and such, and not as it is. *ex: gr:* for a man that runs away from the Army, which is λειποτακτίου, and I accuse him of leaving his ranck, to wit λειποταξίου; or objection of the time past, within which space the suit was to be commenced; or that it should be handled in such a Court, and not in such; as wilful Murther in *Areopagus*, not *Palladium*: by which evasion if the case fell, it was termed ἀγεγαφὴ. Ἀντιγραφὴ, when he that is sued puts a Bill against the plaintiff in like manner. But if the defendant (I call ἀντιγεγραμμένον so) were cast, he paid ὑπωτιμίαν. r Μὴ ἦναι, when a man is summoned to answer before the Arbitri of a controversie, if he swear that he is sick, or pretends a journey from home, and appears not at the day appointed, he was cast in ἐρήμῃ, *Eremodicio*, as if he scorned to come, or were obstinate: he ought within ten daies to sue out μὴ ἦναι; wherein he reproved the sentence and made it of no effect, so as it came to its first state again. But if he could not obtain a μὴ ἦναι, having before sworn that he would stand to the award of the Judges, their determination stood in full strength and power, and he was constrained to pay 100 Drachms (as *s Vlpian*) which was the mulct appointed by the law; for the discharge whereof he put in good security. Ἀντιλαγχάνειν ὀφλεῖν, When any was absent from the Court, or heard not his name called by the Crier to answer thereunto, he was fined,

r Vlpian in Dem. 334.

s In Dem. p. 349.

ned, as conſcious of *Eremodicium*; and if within the ſpace of two Months he did not renew the ſuit (which is ἀνίλαγχον δίκην) he was ſure to pay the fine. Ἐπιζήτησις, when any man will challenge out of goods forfeited, and publickly ſold, ſomewhat as debt to him, or ſay that part belongs to him, the ſtate would narrowly ſearch into it; which thing they term ἐπιζήτημα. Πεῖρα λῆξις, is a citing one before the *Archon* in controverſy about the inheritance, or a Virgin left inheretrix. Now if the plaintiff did not warn the defendant ἐπιδικάσασθαι, the ſuit dyed; and ſuch actions are called ἀπολωλεκυῖαι δίκαι. † Πεῖρα λῆξις, is as letting a caſe fall, or diſſolving it upon ſome witneſs, oath or confeſſion extorted by torments, and the like. Ἔφεσις, is an appeal from one Court to the other, as from the Senate to the people, and from the people to the Senate again, or from their Judicatories at home to ſome forrainers in another country. Ἀνώνυμος δίκη when there is no more fine laid upon a man then what his adverſary did ὑπογράφειν, write down at the lower end of his Inditement, of which cuſtom ſomewhat hath before been ſpoken. Βοὸς κλοπὴ, Againſt ſuch as ſtole Ox-dung out of their neighbours lands; whence of thoſe that are put in the Court for trivial matters the Proverb Βοὸς κλοπὴν κλέων. Ἀσεβείας of impiety againſt their Gods, as *Ariſtotle* for his hymn on *Hermias*, Tyrant of the *Atharnenſes*, which he engraved on a ſtatue at *Delphos*. For revealing myſteries, or imitating them, as *Alcibiades*. Of which if a man were convicted he was put to death, as on the contrary the accuſer, if he got not the better. προδοσίας, of being falſe to the ſtate, the puniſhment was death; and after that, they ſhould be caſt out of the Territories of *Athens* unburied. * ὑπαγωγὴν, If any owed to the City Treaſury, and his name were regiſtred, and before the diſcharge of the mony his name were blotted out, they ſued him before the *Theſmotheta* ὑπαγωγὴν; but if his name was never entered, he was profecuted by an ἔνδειξις. Μεταλλικαὶ proper only to ſuch as dealt in the Mines, like to Stannaries in the County of *Cornwall* my Country, and *Devonſhire* her ſiſter.

† Dem. p. 923.

‡ Ariſt. Sch. p. 9. 28. Laert in vit.

* Dem. cont. Theocr p. 7. 13. n. 76. 77.

x Dem. cont. Pentæ. p. 567. n 51, 52.

x Lyable to this court were they who should chast any man from his work; who should digge within another mans liberties; who should bring weapons thither, I suppose to take away Minerals by violence; who should kindle any fire in the Mines; &c. Who should offer to take away the props that upheld the weight of the incumbent earth; which to do was death, as *y Plutarch* tells us. There was likewise ἀγεδρομία against the labourers in the Mines, who if they intended to begin a new work, were to acquaint the overseers appointed for that end by the people, that the four and twentieth part of the new coin might come to the publick Treasury. Now if any presumed to work who had not made it known to the officers it was lawfull for any to accuse him ἀγεδρομίας δίκη. Ἀποφορὰ δ'. About mony put out to the mony changers. z For ἀποφορὰ among the *Attick*s is the same that τόκος in the Lawyers of latter time, *in Jure Græc. Rom.* Sometimes indeed they used ἀποφορὰ for meanes, and sustenance a ἀποφορὰ εἰς τὸ ζῆν. Κατάδικος and καταδικασάμενος have this difference, that b κατάδικος is the Judge that gives sentence, καταδικασάμενος is he that put in the controversie, to be the means that the sentence past against the defendant. c Ἄφεσις is when a man deeply indebted pretends that he is not able to discharge all; and therefore desires the People that a part thereof might be remitted.

y In vitis Decem Rhet. p. 455.

z Argum Phorm. Orat. p. 554.

a Sch. Eurip.

b Med. p 368. Ulpian in Med. p. 368.

c Idem in Dem. p. 450.

LIB-

LIBER QVARTVS.

De Ritibus Nuptialibus, & Amoris.

CAP. I.

De Venere & Cupidine.

THE People of *Athens* had their habitation too near the Sea, to keep their affections far from her that roſe of the *Foam*. For that they were devoted to the ſervice of *Venus*, the two Temples wherein ſhe was courted, and the over favourable name of ἑταίρας, will ſufficiently teſtifie. One of thoſe Temples was for *Venus* Οὐρανία a (*ſi diis placet*) a name better becoming one of the Muſes, *b* or the play with the ball, than her: and the other, for *Venus* Πάνδημος; which two names put me in mind of an excellent ſaying in *Achilles Tatius* concerning Καλὸν ἐρᾶσθαι, and Καλὸν φιλεῖσθαι δύο γὰρ ἐγὼ νομίζω καὶ ἀλλήλοις κάλλη συναρμόσαι, Τὸ μὲν ἐρᾶσθαι, τὸ δὲ φιλεῖσθαι, ὥσπερ τὼ χάλλεε· αἱ ψυχαὶ δεῖ. Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἐρᾶσθαι ἄχθε ται τῷ δυτῷ χάλλει δεδεμένον, καὶ ζητεῖ πρὸς ἐρασὸν τάχυ φεύγειν. Τὸ δὲ φιλεῖσθαι ἐφίεται κάτω, καὶ ἐγχειρίζει περὶ τοῖς σώμασι. A ſaying good enough for a Chriſtian, and a Biſhop ſuch as *Suidas* reporteth him to have been. But *à diverticulo*. The ſacrifices of the firſt Temple, were Ἁγνότεραι, with a little more ſtate and chaſtity than became her; but thoſe of the laſt, ῥᾳδιουργότεραι, as *eaſie*, and as wicked as her ſelf: For every farthing Strumpet, might by *Solon's* own appointment proſtitute her body in the very Temple, as well as in the Κεραμεικὸς, *c* or the Σκίρον (thoſe Κατωτάτω Ἀφροδίσια) or any other of the places abuſed to luſt. Nay thoſe *ſinks*, (*d* beſides *places* for the purpoſe) had *garments* alſo for the purpoſe, and flowers on the garments too, τὰ Ἀνθινὰ, *floridas veſtes*, apparel fit for ſuch *Flora's* as wore them. The Rites of her ſervice the *Athenians* are ſaid to have received from the *Phœnicians*, the *Phœnicians* from the *Cypri-*

a Pauſanias.
b ἐρατεία, a Play ſo called
c Pauſanias.
d Cloacæ.

e Cœl. Rhod. *ans*, the *Cyprians* from the *Assyrians*, *Fides penes Authorem sit.* The fashion of her Picture they had from the *Cyprians* (*viz*) with a head, and all like a man as far down as the girdle, and all the rest like a woman (to shew she had a place in the *Ditches* too *f* as well as in the *Sinks*, and patroniz'd lust to either of the Sexes) insomuch that many have been scrupulous whether they should call her *Deum* or *Deam*; for there is one that says,

f Inter Soeraticos notissima fossa cinœdos Juven. Sat. 2.

——*Pollentemque Deum Venerem*, Which *Macrobius* himself commends for the best, and therefore in *Virgil*, *Æn.* 2. *v.* 632. reads.

Discedo, & ducente Deo flammam inter & hostes
Expedior ··

and not *Dea*, and so *Aristophanes* calls her Ἀφρόδιτον, in the *masculine gender*. But, now this makes more work, and therefore (to plaister two walls with one pot full of plaistering) they made it a custom, *si sacrificium* facere viros cum veste muliebri, Mulieres cum virili. Quod eadem & Mar, & fœmina æstimaretur*, for the men to sacrifice to her in womens apparel, and women in mens. If it be so, you may say *Aphroditus* for *Hermaphroditus*, if you please. I read of no such thing concerning *Minerva*: onely the *g* Poet (because she was such a *Virago*) honours the Manhood of the Goddess with a τὸ θεῖον; as *Theocritus h* does *Hecate*, with ὦ θεὸς ἐς τριόδους an *appellative* of the *masculine gender*. Nor is it enough that the Mother is thus religiously wooed and adored, but the *blind paultry Boy* will be crying for a Temple too. And if *Her* due be a *Cow*, certainly *His* cannot be less than a *Calf*. neither was it,

* Philochorus, cited by Macrobius.

g Aristoph. Ach. 5 sc. 2. h In Παιγνιοις. 5.

Ῥέζω νόρτιν Ἔρωτι ἐγὼ τῷ Βοῦν Ἀφροδίτᾳ,

says *Theocritus*: and *Amori Litari* to sacrifice to *Amor* or *Cupid* is common in *Apuleius*. Methinks he might have been content to sit still in his Mothers Temple (where he was lovely Pourtraicted by *Zeuxes*, and crowned with flowers) and have soard* with his wings no higher. But the Temple of Ἔρως and Ἀντέρως in the way to the *Academy*, and the famous title of Φιλόπολις, do more than whisper what cause he had to be so proud, and how amorous, his People has been.

* *Alatus.*

CAP.

CAP. II.

De Paderastia

TO omit the Τελεσίδικα and the Abominations of the Women one with another, changing τὴν φυσικὴν χρῆσιν, εἰς τὴν παρὰ φύσιν the natural use into that which is against nature, give me leave to speak a little of their παιδεραστεῖ, or παιδόφθορα, and the Ἀρρενομανία,[k] practised by Men upon their own Sex. The first that ever taught

——*Amorem*
In teneros transferre mares——

(if we may believe *Ovid*) was *Orpheus*. How good a Scholar of his the *Roman* was, *Lippis & Tonsoribus notum*. And for the *Greeks*, 'tis reported by *Herodotus*, that the *Persians* deriv'd the infection from them; which I am apt enough to believe, when I read those words of *Cornelius* [l] *Nepos*, *Landi in Græcia ducitur adolescentulis, quàm plurimos habere Amatores*, in one place, and those concerning *Alcibiades* in another. *Ineunte adolescentiâ amatus est à multis more Græcorum*, not to tell you how he himself afterwards was more than *Pathicus* in that *double-Cappa-roguery* as well as [m] *Pausanias*, or [n] *Socrates*, or any of his *Wag-tail* * *Sectaries*. The *Grecians* (whatever *Strabo* commends of that government) if *Aristot.* say true, made a Law for toleration of it. The [o] *Megarenses* had their *Kissing-matches*, when he that could kiss sweetest was led away in pomp *Corollis onustus*; only thus much is said in commendation of the *Lacedæmonians* & the *Athenians*, that they confined the Lust to the person of a slave. Nay [p] *Ælian* (who makes bold to vary from other authors in several relations) goes farther, and saies Σπαρτιάταις δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἐξεῖναι, but how true that is, I know not: I am sure their παιδικὰ καὶ Πλατωνικὰ ὄργια, tell in *plain song*, what they loved: though I confess I have found no such feats among them, as that of [q] *Achilles* in Murthering *Troilus* for refusing to submit.

i *Ep. ad Rom. c. 1. v. 26.*
k *Ib. v. 27.*
l *Initio lib. de Excel. Imp.*
m *Æmil. Prob.*
* *Plato in Symp.*
n *Socratici viri sectæ.*
o *Athenæus.*
p *L. 3. Var. Hist. c. 12.*
q *Lycoph.*

ſubmit to his luſt. One word more and I have done. He that was inſpired with ſuch a love as this, (as if they had uſed the trick of *r Pyramus* and *Thisbe*) among the *Lacedamonians* had the name of ἱσπνιλᾶς or ἵσπνηλᾶς or rather ἱππνήλας, as *Callimachus* hath it.

r *Inque vices ſervat captatus anhelitus ortus.*

Μέμβλετο δ' εἰσπνήλης ὁππότι Κῦρος ἴοι.

By which word) ſayth the *Etymological Dictionary*) is denoted ὁ ὑπὸ τῆ ἔρωτος (or rather ἐρῶντος) εἰσπνεόμενος, one *inſpired*, ſhall I ſay, or *beloved*, for ſo ſignifieth the word at *Sparta* (*viz.*) to love a boy ſo *perdite*, as to *blow in his lower end*, (as we ſay) to *ſpit in his mouth*, or give him *Manſum ex ore*, take the Authors own words for't in the place above quoted. Αὐτοὶ γὰρ λέγονται περὶ ἐρασθῆναι εἰσπνεῖν αὐτοῖς. Λακεδαιμονιοις δὲ ἐστιν ἡ φωνὴ ἐρᾶν δὲ τὴν λέγουσα, and ſo *Heſychius* ſaies of ἱμασπεῖν too, ἱμασπεῖμι, ἐρᾶμι, ποθεῖμι. This was all (as he ſaies) or (as I ſay) it ought to have been all; for a man *may love his houſe well enough, though he do not ride upon the ridge.* However, I muſt confeſs they had ſo much care ſtill of the *Commonwealth*, notwithſtanding their *private pleaſures*, as not to give a voice to one whom they knew to be guilty of ſo much *Mollities*, as to *ſcratch his head with one finger*. Inſomuch that if any had ſued for an office to give a teſtimony of his *virtue* and manlike diſpoſition, he was fain to lift up his arms, and ſhew his hair in his Arm-pits.

——— Χαιρεσπυπτίου.

Ἐξωμισάσας τ' ἔστιν ἐσχίσω. ſaies *Ariſtophanes*.

And good reaſon for this practice, for,

Duræ per brachia ſetæ
Promittunt atrocem animum ——* ſaies *Juvenal*

* Sat. 2. therefore the Woman *f* that deſired to be taken for a Man, thought this the beſt Argument ſhe could uſe

f Apud Ariſtop. — φῶτον μ' γ' ἔχω τὰς μασχάλας
Λοχμῆς δασυτέρας.

Whereas on the contrary, thoſe that had the fore-head to *ſeem*, as they *were*, effeminate, uſed the ſame tricks which the *Romans* are ſaid to have uſed (for which ſervice they had their ἀλωπεκάς, or *alipilarios*) to pull away their hair, and be as ſmooth as they could. But

But I have ſaid too much of ſo odious a Love *as ſhould not indeed be named among us.* I will now proceed to ſpeak of a chaſter *Venus* (notwithſtanding that *Menelaus* in t *Achilles* prefered the former) *Quæ primis rerum exordiis ſexuum diverſitatem generato amore ſociavit*, as u *Apuleius* ſaid in his Prayer.

t Achil. Tat. lib. 2.
u Metam. l. 11.

CAP. III.

De Amore Mulierum.

WHen firſt they liſted themſelves into the ſervice (for *Militat omnis amans*, and *Cupid* is painted like a Souldier) ſome of them made it ſuch a ſolemn buſineſs, as to be formally initiated like ſo many Prieſts.

Αρ' ὦ ἡμᾶς Ἀφροδίτης μυσταγωγήσεις: ſaies *Clitophon* to *Leucippe*. Ἐπὶ σοὶ βίβλῳ κατεμυήθην τὸν ἔρωτα, ſaies *Iſmenius* x to his Miſtreſs, alluding (it may be) to ſuch Books as the old fellow brought forth to *Apuleius*, y *Literis ignorabilibus prænotatos*,

† Achil. l. 2.
x Euſtath. l. 5.
y Loco ante laudato.

Well, it ſeems *Venus* had her z μυήσεις too, as well as *Ceres*, for her Prieſts, though they were not under an enjoyned ſilence, as the others were, yet the greateſt part of their tatling was under the Roſe.

z Hieroglyphicis.

Conſcius omnis abeſt, Nutu ſignique loquuntur. And therefore *Cupid* had not the name of a *Whiſperer*, ψίθυρος, for nothing; ſeeing ſpeaking through the teeth, and *whiſpering* thorow the walls, like *Pyramus* b and *Thisbe*, was ſo commonly uſed by his followers. Such as that ὦ ἀόρατος θεὸς in *Euripides*, *ſuccrotilla vocula Fœminina fabulare* c *ſuccrotillâ voculâ*, ſaies one. Θρασυμήδη τὸ πρᾶγμον χαίρεις ὑφ' ἡδυεσι, d ſaies another, of *Iſmene*. And not only their words, but every thing they did was by ſtealth, for what were all their pleaſures but *furta*? What is *Cupid* but a *Thief*? No wonder then if Lovers uſed to worſhip the Moon; and the Night be the blind boyes Holy-day. f Καλὴν γὰρ ἡ Νύξ, ſaies one (like that of the Scholiaſt upon *Theocritus* Νὴ γὰρ καλενδοῦλοις ἐρῶσι σιγῆς, καὶ νυκτὸς) for the greateſt part of their employments were not

a Ovid. Met. lib. 4. fab. 4.
b Ovid. Met. l. 4. fab. 4.
c Titinius.
d Euſtath.
e Theocritus ſaies he ſtole honycombs.
Id. 20.
f Eurip.

able to look upon the Sun. Yet *Pindar* as I take it, saies the custom was, for the Man to worship the Sun, and the Woman the Moon. It may be the mans aime *g* was to have the Suns help in bringing Adulteries, and the Womans the Moons, in bringing her *h* Children to light.

g Venerem cum Marte deprehendit. Ovid. Met. 4. fab. 6.

h Luna parturientibus adest

Besides these, Θεὸς ὁ Πὰν ἐρωτικὸς. *i Pan* had his worship too. But for any thing I can perceive (though some of them it may be, were of *Theocritus* his mind,

i Longus in Pastoral. l. 2.

—Ο χὴ Θεὸς οἶδε δικάζειν) whatsoever they pretended to the *Band of Religion*, they took the liberty and looseness in such businesses to *swear* and *forswear*, as fast as they lisped, whiles *Jupiter* stood by and laught—*Perjuria ridet amantûm.* insomuch that Ἀφροδίσιος ὅρκος, a *Love Oath*, became but a proverb at last; as being accounted οὐκ ἐπιτίμιος, not deserving punishment, if it were taken: nay if *Plato* (in *Ephebo*) say truth, ἐν τοῖς ἄνδρασι τοῖς περὶ τὰ Ἀφροδίσια, καὶ τὸ ἐπιορκεῖν συγγνώμην ἄλλως ἔχουσιν θεοῖς, the Gods gave them leave: as having done *hoc eadem Juvenes, the same themselves once: and none can play the* k *knave better than an Abbot that hath been a Monk.*

k French Proverb.

CAP. IV.

De Amoris Judiciis.

NOw to know whether such an one were in Love or not (though they say, *Love and the Cough can never be hid*) at the keeping of a feast, they took special notice of the *untying of his Garland* (as we use to do of the Garter) making it a fore-runner of that of the *Zona*. But I take too much upon me to determine so soon of the reason, for I *Athenæus* saies it hath been a riddle a thousand years before his time, and propounded at their merry meetings; διὰ τί τοῖς στεφανωμένοις ἐν λύπῃ σίφαρος, ἐὰν λίγωσι, and he himself hath served up no less than eight other reasons, but I know never a one better than another to give you a taste. Another signe that they were in love was the *tinkling of the Ear*, whence that of *Sappho*, βομβεῖται δ' ἀνεμώμι, and *Catullus*,

l *Lib. 15. Deipnos.*

—*Sonitu*

——*Sonitu ſuopte*
Tintinant aures. —— To know whether the party lov'd did love again, they took a leaf (whether of *Poppey*, or what it was I know not) they called it φύλλον quaſi δυλλιζον ἀπὸ τοῦ δυλλίζειν τὸ φιλεῖν) and putting it on the foreſinger, and the thumb of the left hand (as our children uſe to do with us) ſtruck it with the right: If it gave a crack they rejoyced, if not a ſigh, out alaſs!

* Οὐδὲ τὸ Τηλέφιλον πάπ μαυσώλιον πλατύσπιον, ſaies * *Theocritus Idyll.* 3. So at their Feaſts they had a trick, to [m] ſaſten a long ſtick in the ground with another upon it (in the faſhion of the croſs Beam of a Ballance) with a pair of Scales hanging to it. Under the Scales ſtood a couple of Bowls filled with water, and under the water a ſtatue of Braſs, guilded and called by the name of Μάνης (a once the [n] name of a Servant) now the manner was for ſuch as were in Love (with the ſame women as I think) and would willingly know their fortune who ſhould carry it, to take each his phial of Braſs (τὸ κύλικιον) to ſtand a pretty way off, and having drunk as much as he liſted, with a ſudden turn of the hand (ἀνακλάω they call it, and thence Κότταβον ἀνακλᾶν τε) to throw the remainder into the Scales; the remainder thus thrown, they called κατάγλω from κάτακλα, the *flat* or the ſound that it gave in the fall: Now he that could do this ſo well, as to make his ſcale ſink, and ſtrike the image hardeſt on the head (ὡ μὲ χυθὴ πᾶσιν, ſo that ſome of the Wine leapt out upon him, ſaith the Scholiaſt, preſumed preſently upon the love of his Miſtreſs, and had his Κοτταβίσκος or his Cake (the uſual reward of victory in moſt of their Playes) for his labour, ſometimes they flung the liquor on the bare ground, and if it gave a good flaſh, it was counted as lucky, for a Lover, as the *crack of the leaf*. Thus to drink and play, they called Κοτταβίζειν (as Κοτταβὸς was the name of the cup and the play too) and ſeldom a drinking match without it.

Ἐστὶν δὲ Κοτταβίζειν
Ῥιπτάζειν

[m] *Ariſtoph. Sch. in Pace.*

[n] *Id in Aribus.*

Τὸ δὲ κακοζήλωτον

Saith the Poet. The invention of this *barbarous* Gambol they are ashamed to own themselves, and therefore turnd it off upon the people of *Sicily*. I might speak more of Κύπελλον, were it either fitter for the present discourse, or not spoken of so largely, and by so many, as *Athenæus*, *Rhodiginus*, and others already. Let it suffice only to have minded you of the folly so usual among Lovers in those times according to that of *Callimachus*.

Παιδὶ ἐφιλήθην, ἀλλ' οὐτ' οἶκτος ἵκεσθ' ἔρχεται
Οὔτε θέμις Σικελὰς ἐκ κυλίκων λάτεγας.

CAP. V.

De Philtris & incantamentis.

BUT what if she could not be wooed over by fair means? was there then never an arrow left in the Quiver to wound her with? or a jugling trick to bewitch her? Yes, but first they must get something or other of hers into their possession, and work upon that, according to the Nurses advice to *Phædra* in wooing of *Hippolytus*.

Euripides Hipp. v. 512.

Δοὺς δ' ἢ λαβοῦσ' ἐκείνου δὲ ἢ σοῦ μόνης
Σεμνῶν, ἢ λόγον τιν' ἢ πίτνλον ἄκρον
Λαβοῦσ' ἔμιξε, καὶ τὸ λυπεῖν μέλι χάρις.

And if they could come to the sight of her, your *illiceæ oculi* (in *Apuleius*) there's nothing like it for a fascination. ὀφθαλμιάσας τινὰ βάσκανον ἀγριωπήσας, he threw a *sheeps eye at her* (saith * *Heliodorus*) The Proverb that *Love comes in at the window, and goes out at the Door*, may not absurdly be understood of the *Eyes*, which *Maximus Tyrius* calls θύρας ἔρωτος καὶ ψυχῆς, the Doors of the Soul, which seem to be the way, and the passage by which the two loves go in and out. ὀφθαλμοὶ δ' ὁδός ἐστιν, saith *Musæus*: or if you will the eyes of either party are a Torch lighted by the others, to kindle the fire in the *heart*. Ὀφθαλμὸς ἀνάπτει τὸν ἔρωτα, saith * *Eustathius*; and so * *Lucian* makes the *sight* the first step * in *Cupids* ladder of Love. To

* Lib. 4.

* Lib. 3. * in ἐρωτικ. * Oculi sunt in amore duces.

try

try therefore what this card could do, they would go to the house where she lived, and the fashion being for the Daughter εἰνοχοεῖν to fill drink to the Stranger; (as *Sosthenes* commanded his daughter to do to *Ismenias*) after the old folk had drunk, when it came to their Mistresses to drink to them, they observed at what part of the cup she drank, to be sure to drink at the same, according to that of the Poet:

a Ovid. de Arte Am. l. 2.

Fac primus rapias illius tacta labellis.
Pocula; quæque bibit parte puella, bibe.

Forsooth they thought thus to have a kiss *mediate* at the second hand wafted over in the cup; καταπίνειν τὸ φίλημα, *Aristænetus* calls it, not to *kiss the cup*, but *cup the kiss*.

Nam transmissa tuis ad me fert suavia labris
Ille Calix.

Saith *Scaliger* translating that verse,

Πορφυρίδες γὰρ ἐμοὶ γε χύλικες παρὰ σοὶ τὸ φίλημα. Such a kiss they used to call ἀποπεμπόμενον φίλημα (*missivum osculum*, or a kiss conveighed in a cup, like words in a Letter) as both *Achilles* and *Eustathius* do. And by this time they have seen whether they can do any thing or nothing by the *eye*. Next they will try what they can do with the Tongue, by *enchanting songs and tales*: or by the Hand, with *Gifts*, and *Baits*; ἐν ἅπασι πολλῶν φίλτρων τε καὶ ἀγωγῶν, says *Xenophon*: Ἴυγξ more especially is the name of a Bird (whether it be *torquilla*, or *regulus*, or *passerculus*; the last is most likely because of its salacity) whose tongue they made use of to such purposes, putting it under the Knap of her Ring with the paring of her nailes.

And we can thank no body, but *Juno* for such a naughty Bird; for having been formerly a Woman, and the Daughter of *Pan* and *Pitho* (of *Ecche* saies *Callimachus*) because she bewitched *Jupiter* to the loving of *Io*, *Juno* turned her into a Bird of the same name, and of a making very suitable to her former condition, and the uses for which she serves. For (according to the *Scholiast* upon *Lycophron*) it is a Bird with a long neck and tongue, continually wagging both the head,

and the tail; and punished she is enough for her Roguery; for (besides that way I told you of before) sometimes they ty'd her ἐν τροχῷ to a wheel (as I think) and chanted a charm as they whirld it round. sometimes (at least the entrails) to a τροχὸς of wax, causing both together to consume in the fire. But what will you say, if all this while it be nothing but an instrument pleasantly run'd and playd? as some say it is, and that it is therefore commonly used for any pleasant thing or inticement. Ἴυγγι θέλγειν φησὶν Πίνδαρος. saies *Pindar*, or any other Magical Love toy, such as *Ungues*, muscels, wreathed fillets, hair, and bands of twisted wool, and divers other gambols of the same brain according to that which I have seen of *Lælius* an ancient Poet.

* *Nem Od 4.* vid. *Theoc. Pharmacen. Lusistrate prope finem.*

Trochiscili, Ungues, taenia
Aurea, Illices bistortilæ.

With no stronger chains than those of *twisted Wool* (* πλεκτὸν ἔριον * *Plutarch* calls it) is *Saturn* reported to have been bound by *Jupiter* when he flung him down. I can rather believe that all the Gods had *laneos pedes, woolen feet*, as the proverb saies they had, than that any of them should have *Laneas pedicas, woollen fetters.* And yet that dull and lazie old dotard, could be content to lie fast in those bands all the year long, till the Month *December*, when he had his liberty, because of the *Saturnalia*, which *Papinius* therefore calls *Saturni compedem evolutum*: I refer you for the reason to *Macrobius Saturn.* 1. c. 8. Though I believe they intended no other than a Magicall tie upon the affection of the party. Yet they seem to have made use of *Wool*, rather than any other thing, because it was so much in fashion in such kind of matters; for first, the girdle the woman used to wear, was made of *wool*, twisted and tyed with an *Hercules*, or a *True-Lovers* knot, not to be untyed but in the *Genial bed.* Then the doors of the Bride house, and the posts of the door, were bound about with woolen fillettings, and the Wife was to sit upon a fleece for a Cushion. Yet how they used this πλεκτὸν ἔριον I cannot tell; whether they put it about the cup wherein the potion was given, according to that,

* not στερτὸν. * περὶ πολλ.

†Στρέψαν τὸν κάλπιν, ὅπερ ἐπὶ θαλάσσᾳ ἔκαιον. † *Theocrit. Pharmacen.*

Or about the Bay which they burnt; or in some other way. But thus much I have observed of their ordinary practises in such Rogueries (too common with the women in these times) that what ever was done to the things which they used, they imprecated the same, or the like, to the parties whom they imagined the things to represent. Thus a *Althæa* burnt *Meleager* out in the brand. Thus *Juno* tied up b *Alcmenæ's* womb, *Digitis inter se pectine junctis*. I know not how. Thus c *Simætha* (to come nearer home) angry with *Delphis* for want of his love, would have scattered his bones in the meal, burnt his flesh in the Bay, melted him away in the Wax, or have had him tumble to her door in the Brazen Bowl, and have killed him with kindness. Every one of which practises was attended with prayers to *Hecate* and the *Moon* for successe, as things that were fit to be done neither by *day*, nor *above ground*. Infinite more were the tricks they used to make a man to love them, such as d *Philostratus* speaks of in his *Epistles*, τὸ ἦ φιλίου, ἢ κύνα, ἢ πτερωτὸν, καὶ οἱ ἔνυδροι δὲ ἰόντες, ἢ ἀμφίπολοι πίθαν, ἢ θύειν, ἢ ἀστραγάλους, ἢ λαιὸν φάρμακα. The κύνα may be thought to be the *Crocotta*, τὸ πεποικιλμένον, otherwise μεμιγμένον, or μεμιγνύμενον, *Mixticia*, or *Bombycia*, a kind of e διαφανὲς ἔνυφον, or a garment that hid the body so that it might be seen, *Sucus sic per Bombycina corpus*, saies f *Martiall*, such Women used it.

a *Ovid. Met. lib. 8. fab. 4.*
b *Ovid. Met. lib. 9 fab 5.*
c *Theoc. Pharmac*
d Lib. 8. E. 68.
e *Pollux.*

g *Quæ tenuis sudant in cycladæ, quarum*
Delicias, & Pamphilicas bombycinas uris.

f Lib. 8 Ep. 6.
g *Juvenal. Sat. 6.*

It had the name ἀπὸ τῆς Τυρσηνίας κόπτου καὶ γενέσεως, saith h *Pollux*. Ἐπιγόνατα ὄντα, are like to be *varium Lacertæ*, such as she is in *Theocritus* would have used in a potion, but I had rather take them for the ὄφεις worn about the wrists καρπῶν, and the golden fetters I suppose to be stronger than woollen. But besides all these; there was μηλοσολεῖν, feats to be done by the throwing of an Apple *Cydonium malum* I mean, reported to grow in the garden of *Venus*, and used at Weddings (as shall be shewn hereafter.) Thus when *Cydippe* was i sitting in the Temple of *Diana*, *Acontius* threw in his ap-

h *lib. 7. c. 17. Petulans, madidumque Tarentum.*
i *Aristan. lib. 1. Ep. 10.*

ple

ple with this Inſcription, Μὴ τὴν Ἀρτεμιν Ἀταλάντῃ γαμῶμαι, or if you had rather have Latine,

Juro tibi ſane per myſtica ſacra Dianæ,
Me tibi venturam comitem ſponſamque futuram.

And ſo made her think ſhee *took*, when ſhe did but *read* the oath. And thus * *Hippomanes drew back Atalanta*, by throwing of his Apples. Nay, if they bit off a piece, and threw it; it was enough: which made *k Philenis*, being jealous of her ſiſter *Thelxinoe* complain of *Pamphilus* his throwing a piece of an Apple in her lap. The *l* women of *Theſſalie* are eſpecially noted for cunning women at this work, being able (as he ſayes.) μαγεύειν ὅπως, ὅτε μὴ θεὸς ἐπέχει ἢ ἀνθρωπον ἄπαλλον γυναῖκα, &c. And ſo for the women of *Egypt* (I think the ſex hath ſtill the Monopoly of Magick) however the *Egyptian m* Souldier came to miſtake in the *Doſis*, when he gave *Lucippe* the potion. For inſtead of putting her into a fit of love, he put her clean out of her wits, as *Ceſonia* did her Husband *n Caligula* with an *Hippomanes*. Thoſe φίλτρα, or Love-potions, were commonly made of the juyce of ſuch herbs as diſpoſed the body to Venerie, ſuch as the σεσέλι (rendered *Paſtinaca*) called by way of excellency, τὸ ἀφροδίσιον, ὅτι διεγερτικὸν εἰς τὰ περὶ Ἀφροδίτην, ſaies *Euſtathius*. *Plutarch* (if I miſtake not) in his Γαμικὰ παραγγέλματα, expreſſes his diſlike of theſe courſes. But what? was there never a way to *unwitch* the party again? (for I heard of ſome that can do this who cannot do the other) yes, either by taking counterfeit Phyſick (as *Lucippe* did) or by waſhing it away in the River *Selemnis*, as (*Pauſanias* ſaies) they uſed to do in *Achaia*; or elſe by Sacrifices or Charmes, according as they imagined the cauſe. Whence thoſe words of the * Nurſe to *Myrrha* incited by the furies, and not by *Cupid*, to the wanton love of her own father.

Seu Furor eſt, habeo quod Carmine ſanet, & herbis:
Sive aliquis nocuit, Magico luſtrabere ritu:
Ira Deûm ſive eſt, ſacris placabimus iram.

* Ovid. Met. l. 10 fab. 11.
k. Ariſt lib. 1. op. 25.
l Achil. Tat. *l* 5. Theſſala vendit Philtra. Juvenal.
m Corgias apud Tat l. 4.
n Suetonius.
* Ovid. Met. l. 10. fab. 9. v. 397.

CAP

CAP. VI.

De Usitato more significandi amorem.

IF the Love came of its own accord, and were kindled with a natural heate (as indeed the Soul is naturally inclined * ὑπὸ φύσεως, καὶ θερμὸν, καὶ μεμυκὸς, * ὅπου καὶ φιλεῖν, to the love of another) you will not think what a tender care those Grecian Women had of their Sweet-hearts. Insomuch, that if you call to mind some of their choicest expressions thereof (especially that of *Ariadne* to *Theseus*) you cannot but be of * *Plutarchs* mind, in approving the definition given by some of the old Philosophers, who said that it is, ἀνθος εὐπρεπείας ὡρᾶς ἐπιβολὴ καὶ σπουδὴ γάμου, Not to tell you, that sometimes they sent a wooing to the men, pray take but a taste of their customes in this particular of expressing their love: To trim up their bodies as they did their *own* *a* with flowers (like a *May-maid*) or hang up Garlands at their doors (or τὰ ἐνώπια the parts of the house exposed to sight when the doors were open, ἐνόμιζον ἱερὰ τὰ πυλῶνας, sayes *Hesychius*) was an ordinary caress, though indeed (as *b Athenæus* sayes) they intend it chiefly to the honour of Ἔρως. τῷ γὰρ ἐρῶντι ἐρώμενον ἄγαλμα, τοῦτο καὶ ναὸν ἔνιοι τὸν οἶκον σφῶν εἶναι, as making the body of a Sweet-heart the Image, and his house the Temple of Love. The tokens they usually sent were Garlands and Roses, τὰ στεφάνια καὶ τὰ ῥόδα πέμπειν (says *Petala* to *Simaleon* in *Alciphron*) and (it may be) sometimes bitten pieces of Apples, μῆλα ἐνδεδηγμένα (as *Lucian* calls them) tokens very well agreeing with those expressions in fashion among the Romans, when they sate at Table, viz. leaving drink in the cup, and giving morsels of meat, such as *c Martial* would have *Postia* send him, rather than a whole legge, or the like, or such as *d Ovid* speaks of,

Si sibi sorte dubit, quos pregustaverit ipse,
Rejecta libatos illius ore cibos.

But I must tell you S. *Hieroms* e censure, *degustatos cibos blan-*

a Eustath. Ism.

b L. 15.

c L. ep. 7.

d Amor. l. El. 4.

e De vita Clericis ad Nepotian

doſque, ac dulces literulas ſanctus amor non habet, it ought not to be ſo among ſt you, Symmachus upon theſe words of the *Birds* in *Ariſtophanes* χ, πίζειν ἐρᾶς σύτις ἀλλ, ſays, they were wont to gratify one another with Birds, ſuch as Doves, and the σίσυ and the like. But theſe expreſſions I weigh but little; when I obſerve that ſcarce a Wall or a Tree, where ever it were (ὅτυ πύχ ſaith the *Scholiaſt*) was paſſed by without writing *f* thereon the name of the party, in this form ὁδὶν καλὸς, or κεῖνος καλὸς, for the word κεῖνος among the *Grecians* ſignified *amaſium, a Woman's word*, like τῆνος in *Theocritus*.

f Dieg. Laer. in Diadero.

Λέγξ ἄλλα τὸ τῆνον ἐμὸν πατὶ δῶμα † ἄνδρα.

Inſtead whereof (ſay ſome) you ſhall read κῦμος in the *Comedian in Veſpis*, but I ſee no ſuch need of a correction, for he ſpeaks of the Lawyer that was ſo much in love with the imployment of the Court, that the κῦμος *a* (the cover of the pot for the *calculi*) or one ſuch thing or other ran ſtill in his mind, and therefore (ſaith he)

a Vid. p. 118.

——ἀγλὸν γέ τι μεγαυχένην
Τὸν ποικιλόμυθον δῶρα δήμου κλέπτειν,
Διὰ παιδίσκας κἀκεῖνον κῦμος πατεῖν.

In like manner the men dealt with the names of their *Miſtreſſes*, which they wrote ſometimes upon the very leaves of the Trees according to that of *Callimachus*,

Ἀλλ' ἐπὶ δὲ φύλλοισι πολυσπερμάδος ἀκάνθης
Γράμματα, Κυδίππης ἐρατὰ κλέα κλεῖε.

Let on the leaves ſo many letters lie,
As my *Cydippe Fair* may ſignify.

which puts me in mind of what *Lucian* in his Ἔρωτες ſays of one that was ready to die with the love of *Cnidia Venus*, Τοῖχος ἄρας ἐχαράττετο, οὐ τὸν τυχόντα λίθον γράφων Ἀφροδίτην καλὴν ἐπίστευεν, not a wall now but what was engraven with, nor a bark of a tree but what proclaimed VENUS FAIR. How glad would they have been, if they could have written them upon paper, and have worn them in their Hats as we do? but no wonder they did as they did, having a *copy* written to them by Nature; for

—*Inſcripti*

——Inscriptâ nomina verum
Nascuntur flores ——) and an *example* given them by *Apollo* himself, who when he turned *Hyacinthus* into a flower of the same name to keep his *memory* alive, when he was dead and not contented with that,

Ipse suos gemitus foliis inscribit, & Ai, Ai, Ovid. Met. lib.
Flos habet inscriptum—— 10. Fab. 5.

Thus was the memory of *Ajax* preserved, and one half of his name, as the same Author hath it.

Littera communis mediis puerôque viroque Lib. 13. fab. 1.
Inscripta est foliis: hæc nominis, illa querelæ.

But the vehement love of *Moschus* to *Bion* his deceased friend thought those lamenting interjections too little, unless there were written Κάλε Κάλε besides upon the same flower.

Αἰαῖ Υάκινθε λέλαν τυ᾽ οἱ γεγάμμαται, ἢ αἶλον ἂς Αἰ,
Λάμβανε σοῖς πετάλοισι, κἀλὲ τέθνηκε μελισδύς.

Κάλε for him, and Καλὰ for her was sure to be written, for *never seem'd Mistress soul and Prison fair.* But for her part if she were Κυάνοπις, or had black eye-brows she was counted fair indeed, according to that of *Gregory Nyssen*, ὀφρῦσι Theocrit.
μέλανας ἀκτενισμένοις τῷ ὄμματι, insomuch that *Jul. Pollux* saies, they had a trick μελανίειν τὰς ὀφρῦς to black them: or if she were somewhat big of stature, and therefore *Aristotle* in his Rhetorick puts τὸ μέγεθος, as part of the Λεγόμενα εἶναι σώματος, as he doth σωφροσύνην καὶ φιλογυίαν, for the most commendable virtues of her mind. What the women of other times esteemed to be the τὸ καλὸν of a man I know not. It seems in *Aristotle's* time it was counted most commendable, τὸ μὲν γὰρ σῶμα χρήσιμον ἔχειν τὸ σῶμα τὰς ἐ μὲν ὁπλίτου δεῖται ἄλλοι ἄλλου· ἀλλ᾽ ὅσοι ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐσόμενοι. But I have talkt too long of Love, or of *Robin-hood*, that never shot in his bow. I fear the Reader will blame me, for casting away so much cyle and labour upon such a Subject, and (it may be) give his censure, that *Oratio est vultus animi.* But those that know Senec. Ep. 114.
me will distrust his Physiognomy, for defining the temper of my mind by my look in a paper. However now I am *in*, I

will not, ſtick, but *properè ſequi quæ piget inchoare,** and proceed to the Nuptials themſelves.

* Tacit.

CAP. VII.

De Nuptiis

THE parties being both agreed, unleſs the Wench were as yet *Acerba* (as *Varro* calls her) or σταφυλὴ ὠμοπάλιστος, but a ſower grape (as *Euſtathius*) and not yet ripe *Matura viro* (in the words of *Virgil*) they were thus betroathed and yoaked together. The man did in the preſence of witneſſes, *promiſe himſelf* after the manner of the Latine form, *ſe ſponſam poſt concubitum invitam non deſerturum*, and ſo gave her one ὡῦσεν or other in earneſt: but the woman ſhe was *deſponſata*, promiſed or beſtowed upon him by the Parent or the Guardian; as if the promiſes of a Woman were falſe enough to make the ſaying among the *French* to be true.

Qui femme croit & uſne meſme,
Son corps ne ſera à ſans peine.

And yet (it ſeems) though they feared ſhe might break a promiſe, they thought an oath to be ſtrong enough to hold her: For ſometimes at the conſummation of the buſineſs, they went both into the *Temple*, & there engaged themſelves mutually by oath, as it is probable by the practiſe of *Clitophon* and *Leucippe*; in the Temple of *Iſis*, where the man ſwore ἐμὸν ἔσεσθαι ἄνδρα, and the woman ἐμὴν ἔσεσθαι γυναῖκα, καὶ πάντων ἀποστῆναι ἑτέρων. I do not remember that the *Arbocinians* had that good fellows trick of the *Galatians*, to make a *poculum conjugii*, as well as *Charistia* and to *pledge their troth* in a *cup*, a trick by which *Camma* is reported to have poyſoned *Synorix* (whom ſhe pretended to Marry) for kiſſing her Husband. Or that they uſed the cuſtom of the *Macedonians* of cutting a Loaf in two between them with a ſword, related by *Q. Curtius*. Surely it had been a rare *Roman confarreation*, if they had. The rites uſually obſerved at a wedding

Achil. Tat. l. 5.

a Alex. ab Alex. l. 2. c. 5.

b Lib. 8.

ding are said, c to have been invented by *Erga*. They were partly these. The Daughter being betrothed, was led by her Parents into the Temple of *Minerva*, as who would say, to take her leave of the d *Virgin*; Besides this, before she can cease to be of the *herd* to the ζυγὸς ἀγνὸν, take heed *Great Diana* will be clean out of patience, if she have not a draught of the blood of a Heifer calf never yet married in the *yoak* (and so the fitter for the maid that gives, and the maid that takes) and a crop of her hair besides, according to that of *Euripides*.

e Μόσχοιν τε γάμων, ἃς Διὰ πώλοις χεὶρ
Ἀπήμδι.

And therefore *Clytemnestra* (speaking of her daughter, whom they pretended to marry to *Achilles*) demands of her Husband,

f Πεπτόλεια δ' ἦν παῖδος ἐκπεμφθεὶς Διΐ,

Whether he had seen the sacrifice perform'd? But alas poor *Iphigenia*, she had so much to do as to be a sacrifice to *Diana* the *Goddesse of Aulis*, and to be made a Calf her self: When as our Woman, it will serve her turn to κανοῦσθαι to *Diana* the goddess of *Virginity*; that is, give her a basket for a present to stop her mouth, some curious needle-work or other, with a prayer besides to this purpose g Ἄρτεμι μὴ νεμέσα ἢν γαμέωμαι—*That she should not take it amiss if she be married*. But now I must tell you, that besides those rites of the κανοῦσθαι, there were others as solemn as they to be observed too, if ever they thought to obtain the good will of the Goddess. The manner of them, and the occasion you have related by *Suidas* thus. It happened upon a time that a certain Bear growing tame, came and lived in the δῆμος of the *Phlavides*, insomuch that at length a little girle durst go so far and so near, as to play with it, but the Bear quickly grew to be in earnest, and drew her blood for the *stake*, whereupon one of her Brothers shot the Bear and killed it. Presently after this there happened a very great Pestilence in the City; and the Oracle being sought unto, answer was returned, that if they meant to remove it, they must make a decree, that every

c Cæl. Rhod. l. 7. c. 4.

d παρθένος.

e Minerva so called.

e Euripid. in Iphigem. Aul. versu 11, 12.

f Ibid. v. 7. 11.

g Theoc. Id. 17

every girle in the City of *Athens*, sometime or other between the years of Five and Ten of her age, clad in a κροκωτὸς or Saffron colour garment, did offer and devote her self to *Diana*, to make amends for the Bear; and therefore a girle thus consecrated, was her self called ἄρκτος the * Bear, and the action ἀρκτεία and ἀρκτεύειν to *play the Bear* (which methinks was very unfitting for a Maid) and sometimes πανδατεῖν, because commonly they deferred it till the last year, as she did in * *Lysistrate*.

* Harpocr.

a Aristoph.

Εἶτ' ἀλετρὶς ἢ λυκίστις
Οὖσα τ' ἀρχυγέτις
Κατηχίσω κροκωτὰν ἐν Βραυρωνίοις.

ἐν Βραυρωνίοις she sayes, because it was to be done in the Feast of *Brauronia* kept in the Moneth of *Munichion* to the honour of the same *Diana*, who [a] is reported to have been delighted very much with *Brauron* a Village of *Attica*, where *Pausanias* (*in Atticis*) sayes that Image of hers which *Iphigenia* brought from the *Tauri*, was continually kept, till *Xerxes* took it away, insomuch that she came to be called by the name of *Diana* [b] *Brauronia*. And yet for all this, for ought that I can see, she need not to have been so scrupulous for displeasing I know not whom, if she had *Cecrops* his own Law for warrant, who first instituted the contract of Matrimony, and was therefore called by the name of *Bouke*, saith [c] *Eustathius*: or else (according to the Scholiast upon [d] *Aristophanes* (*quasi* πρῶτον ἰδὼν ὡς δύο φύσεις τῶν τε παίδων, καὶ τῆς μητρὸς, because he had in a manner *invented* the two natures of a Father and Mother (as to *Knowledge* and in the way of a *certain* couple) or rather, if you will, the natures of a *Father* and a *Son*; for before, neither the Father could be known by the Son, nor the Son by the Father. But some again say, he had this name, because of his having the bodies of two distinct natures: in the upper part of a man, and in the lower of a Dragon, as he says (*in Vespis*)

a Athen. l. 6.

b Pausan. in Arcad.

c Ad Odyss.

d In Plut. Act. 3. Sc. 3.

Ω κακέ, πρωτίστην τε σοὶς ἐπόνησα δράκοντα.

And others, because of the many excellent Laws which he made. Whereby he is reported so to have tam'd & civiliz'd the

the humane conditions of the ancient people of *Athens*, that he seemed to have *new moulded* them, and made them of *another nature*; in the sense, that the stones have been said to be turn'd into Men, and the Trees into Lovers of Musick. Of all the reasons that are given, I like that best which likes *Rhodiginus*, who says, he was called by this name, because the *children* did now appear to be *twins, come of two*, whereas before (for ought any one could prove) they might be but *uterini*, the Sons of a *Mother* only; nay hardly that, at such time as the fashion was to be *expos'd* or *put out*, to nursling to Bears and Wolves and the like. But enough of this, for I have more work for the Woman yet. She must Sacrifice to *Venus* and the *Graces* for the past, and in special manner to *Juno* γαμηλία, either as a *Primuba* for the *present*, or as a *Lucina*, or a *Mater familias* (as he in [a] *Plautus* calls her) for the future. An ordinary thing it was among the Heathen to change their Gods, when they chang'd their condition, and I should be glad if *we Christians* could answer, *not guilty*, in this particular, being every one of us too too ready κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν, &c. (as *Aristotle* says in his [b] *Ethicks*) to have a new *Summum Bonum* every day at the least. The Sacrifices performed to *Juno* went under the several names of προγάμεια, προτέλεια, and προτέλεια τὰ πρὸ γάμου, προγαμίαι, and προγαμίαι ἀρχαί, indeed the two first are sometimes the same that ἐπίδοσις, the gifts sent before the wedding, and the word προτέλεια is used also sometimes in relation to others as well as to *Juno*, as it is to *Diana* in that verse of *Euripides* already cited. And therefore in another [c] place of the same Tragedy, you have the *Greek* Souldiers at *Aulis*, when they saw *Iphigenia* brought thither in a Nuptial pomp thus speaking;

Ἀρτέμιδι προτελεῖ' ἥδε νυμφεύει.
Αὐλίδος ἀκτὰν ἐς ἀξέναν πόρτιν.

And so sometimes to the [d] *Parcæ*, whom they had reason to remember, if they meant to be *spar'd*, or to spin out their lives to the longest. But yet *Juno* (I think) was in a great deal more request among Lovers, than any of the rest, because they had her name so oft in their mouths. For among the

[a] In Amphit. Act. 2. Sc.

[b] Lib. 1. c. 4.

[c] V. 433.

[d] Jul. Pol. l. 3. c. 3.

the *Latines*, when they would expreſs themſelves in the moſt affectionate manner that might be, they uſed to call one another by the name of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, as the old dotard does his *Caſina*, in the Poet [a] by the name of *Juno*.

[a] Plut. in Caſina Act. 1. Sc. 3.

Eja mea Juno, non decet te eſſe tam triſtem tuo Jovi.

Adde hereunto the title of Τελεία, (as there is alſo Ζεὺς τέλειος) under which ſhe was worſhipped, which (together with the word τελείωσις) muſt be ſo laid, either from τέλος anciently put for γάμος (as τελεσσιγαμία was for γαμηλία) from whence comes τέλεια both the Sacrifice and the day; or from τελεῖν to *initiate*, or from τέλειος *adultus*, as only ſuch as were of age (ἐν ἡλικίᾳ) might be ſuffered to have the *happineſs* to marry. Now *Juno adulta* and *Jupiter adultus* were the more religiouſly worſhipped at ſuch a time [a] διὰ τὸ τοὺς τότε γάμους (ſays *Suidas*) as being eſteemed in a manner of *Prytanes* and overſeers of the wedding. Here's a great deal of *cry* about *ſacrifices*, but you'l ſay the *Wool* is to come: only ſome σπονδαὶ there muſt be, leſt any Roman ſhould grudg the Woman the name of a *Spouſa*. Now becauſe (it may be) I ſet you a longing upon the mention of *Gifts*, I will ſpeak a word or two more of them. The gift called by *Demoſthenes*, ταμιλία, was that which they ſent to the ἑορτάσεις for the making of a Feaſt, when they were to be admitted into the Tribe of their Husbands. The gift of either party to the other at the time of the Nuptials, they called ἴδια (as they did alſo thoſe which they gave when they went a wooing) But the ἰδίως χιτὼν was a garment beſtowed upon the Huſband by the wife (giving of apparel was very uſual once both with the Jew [a] & the *Gentile*,) and you may not wonder at her for liberality; if ſhe *gave a Cake to him that had a Paſty in the Oven*; for if ſhe *brought* her φέρνας, ſhe had her ἐπιφέρνια to *carry* away. Nor can you blame her for immodeſty in giving, who was to be *given* her ſelf for elſe (it may be) before it was come thus far, ſhe might bear the blame of the proverb, *femme que donne s'abandonne*, *ſhe that gives is ſoon gotten*. The petty gifts then given by the Parents they call'd μείζονα, ἐπιφέρνια, as were thoſe which

[a] Ariſtotle.

[a] Gen. c. 24 5.

which were given *after* the Wedding. The dowry beſtowed upon her by her Father at the firſt, προῖξ: that which was afterward added to improve it, ἐπίπροῖξ. (thus ſome have thought good to diſtinguiſh, and look their gifts in the mouth; but they may be too free of there diſtinctions.) At her firſt coming to her husband, ſhe had beſtowed upon her by him and her Friends τὴ ἀνακαλυπτήρια (which was alſo the name of the day it ſelf) otherwiſe called δωρήματα, ἐπαύρια, ἄθυρματα, and προσδεγκτήρια, and all for the ſame reaſon *viz.* becauſe thoſe gifts were given, *ut illa pateretur ſe videri*, ſaies *b Victorius*: to make her take off her veyl, and be ſeen; in ſuch a way *Jupiter* is reported to have beſtowed upon *Proſerpina* the City of *Thebes*: according to thoſe verſes of *Euphorion*, as they are cited by the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides* in *Phœniſſis*,

Τῇ ποτε Κρονίδης δῶρον πόρε Περσεφονείᾳ,
Ἐν γάμῳ ἧτε πρῶτον μὲν ὀπωπήσασθαι ἐμέλλε
Νυμφιδίῳ ἀκέοντο παρηλίτιος καλύπτρον.

Καλύπτρον ſaies he, or καλύπτρα according to *I. Pollux*, for although ſhe might now ſhew her face, and be modeſt nevertheleſs, yet *before*, ſhe ſtood behind a red veyl or hood, with which ſhe hid her ſelf, and ſo deſerved the name of עלמה if it were nothing elſe *a* but for that. This *Luteous* veyl is otherwiſe called ξανθὸς, in Latine *Flammeum*, *a* in Heb. צעיף ſuch a thing as *Rebeccah* had when ſhe met with her Huſband, *Gen.* 24. 65. or *Tamar* when ſhe met with a worſe thing *c.* 38. 19. The reaſon why they were not unveyled till they came to be *covert Baron* (I mean at *Athens*, for at *Sparta* they ſay, it was the clean contrary) is by *Charilaus* (cited by *b Cæl. Rhodiginus*) delivered *veyl'd* under theſe words ἐπὶ τοῖς μὲν κόραις ἀνδρὸς ἐυρεῖν δεῖ, τοῖς δ γυναίοις σώζειν τὸν ἔρωτα, the ſcope of the man, or the true reaſon of the cuſtom though I cannot eaſily hit, yet I may give a very great aime when I ſay: *Auctæ fuga formæ eſt*—
(as *Ovid* ſaies of *Peneis* when *Apollo* purſued her) or when I expreſs my ſelf in the words of *Nonnus*.

Καὶ πλόον ἰμείρουσι καλυπτοδρόμοις ἐπὶ νύμφαις

b Var. Lect. 25. c. 3.

a See another reaſon in. Prov. 3. 19.

a Jav. Sat. 2.

b L. 13. 46.

Men long, to ſee a face that's hid, the more.

Indeed the caſe was otherwiſe with the Sophiſter *Hermogenes*, who having a Wife, that was none of the handſomeſt, put upon him by the Emperour *Severus*, and being demanded his ἐπικαλυπτήρια, very handſomely anſwered to put it off, ἐπικαλυπτήρια δ' ἂν τοσοῦτον λαμβάνων, *I ſhould more need to give her ſomewhat to let her veyl alone, unleſs ſhe were better than ſhe is.* Whether theſe *Flammea* were of the ſame making that their ordinary πέπλα were, I cannot well tell; but if they were (as I have ſome cauſe ſo to think, by thoſe words of *Iphigenia* as ſhe was going to be married, Ἐγὼ δ' λευκῶν ἄμπτα δι' ἑλικτῶν Ἔχων—) then I muſt tell you they were ſo thin that their faces might well have been diſcovered, and the covering been let alone, for *Helen* it ſeems, could ſee the flowers through them.

a Ia Aul. v. 372.

b Ὅς με χλοερὰς
Δραπετίδας ἴσον πέπλων
Ῥίπτα πίτυλα—

b Eurip. Hel. v. 150.

But this may be eaſily anſwered; for as (you know) a *mountain* that is ſo far off, may be hid by putting but the little finger between, ſo again, one man is able to ſee another plainly thorow that which is ſufficient to hide *himſelf*. And ſo much for the gifts at preſent, perchance you may have more anon. Now the cuſtome was for the Bride to be carryed from her (παστάδων) Chamber to her Husband in a Coach or ſome ſuch kind of thing, which the poor Girle in the * Poet (complaining to *Agamemnon* of her abuſe) could term little better than being *ferried* in *Charons* boat.

* Ib. in Tauris v. 370. &c.

Ἀλλὰ Δηϊδάμεια μὲν ἀφ' ἑστίας ἐμᾶς
Ὅν μοι παρῆψαν πόσιν, ἐς δόμους τινὰς δ' ἄγεις.
Εἰς αἱματηρὰ μᾶλλον ἐπτοημένος γάμων.

To *Pluto*, not to *Peleus's* ſon
You would me then have married;
When me to bloody Nuptials
In Coach and Fraud you carried.

The fellow that was the Coach-man, carried a Torch in his hand, if we may gather ſo much by the *Nuncius* in another

ther Tragedy, for he saies, he had done this office for *Helen* himself.

Λευκίππου μιμήμαθ', ὡς ἡ πατρὸς ἐμὸς — Id. in Hel. v. 728
Ἵπποις τροχάζων, παρίσορον οὐδ' ἐν δίφροις
Σαὸν πόσιν ἡμῶν δῶμ' ἐλαμπὶς ὅλβιον.

(I make bold to trouble you with so much Greek, because it explains the custome so fully.) The song which they sung as they went along, they called ἀξονίτιον μέλος from, ἄξων the Coach; the Axletree whereof they burnt as soon as they came to the Bridegroms door, *ut signarent illam ibi perpetuo mansuram, neque inde ulla tempestate* * *recessuram*; to shew that she was never to return from thence again: just as *William* the Conqueror burnt his ships at *Pevensey*, that so his Souldiers seeing their return to be desperate, might Fight the more *desperately* (as we use to say) or with the better courage. The νυμφαγωγὸς, νυμφοστὸς, or ὁδήγυμος that was sent to fetch her, either sate by his side in the same Coach, or else went along by her *Coaches* side in another, and was therefore called πάροχος, from ὄχος; unless that she were either *willing*, or *constrain'd* to *foot* it; for then he could be but χαμαίπους a *Pedee*. This custome for the husband to lead his wife home by the hand of a proxie (yet in fashion among Kings and Princes) was sure to be observed at his *second Marriage*, for then (saies *a Eustathius*) ὑδίμως (ἡ πανδήμως saies *b Pollux*) ἢ νυμφίον αὐτὸν, he might not do it himself, perhaps out of shame, because they accounted it a disparagement for a man to Marry the second time, yea though his former wife were dead, as it may be I shall have occasion to shew you hereafter. Besides the νυμφοστὸς, or the *Brideman*, and some of her own friends, there went along with her a νυμφόκομος, or a *Bride-woman* to take off her veyl, and dress, and undress, and do other such offices as should be required. Her Wedding *Ornaments* were pretious stones, and jewels, especially about her bed, such as *a Hermione* had in the Tragedy. Κοσμῶν δ' αὐτὴν περὶ χρυσίας χλιδὰς. Her *Wedding Garment* was all of purple save in one place (where her other garments were so be of that colour, and no where else)

* Alex. ab Alex.

a In Homeri Il. c.

b L. 3. c. 3.

a Eurip. Androm. v. 147.

else) ἔνθα ἦν τῆς ἄνω ἰδεῖν ἡ χρέα ἡ πεπυρωμένη ἐκεῖ χρυσὸς ὢν, and there was gold, which agrees very well with that of *Hesiod* concerning a *Virgin*,

Οὔπω ἔγνω εἰδυῖα πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης.

Who never yet the Works of *Golden Venus* knew.

I think I might venter upon this custome to interpret τὸν πυρσὸν ἡ παθητέα (in *b Eustathius*) in another sense than others have done. When she came to the house, she found the Doors all hung with Garlands already, *Domus tota laureis obsita*, saies *c Apuleius*: it seems they tarryed not till *d Juvenals* time —*Foribus suspensa Coronæ*

Jam pateres— Neither was it any whit strange to her to see those ornaments upon the *House* for she herself had the same according to those words of *Clytemnestra* to *Achilles*

d Σοὶ κατεστεφάνωτο ἐγὼ τὴν ἔνδον ὡς γαμουμένῳ.

And (I think) her Husband too καὶ ὁ πατὴρ, καὶ ὁ παιδεύσας, ὥσπερ τιμιῶν, says *a Libanius*, speaking to the Father, whose work it was to trim the Husband; as it was the Mothers to adorn the Wife. The custome of adorning the *House* with Garlands, was very much in use among the Romans too, & as much detested by the Christians *Christianus nec Laureis januam infamabit*, says *f Tertullian*. Those Garlands have been made either of *Verbena*, consecrated to *Venus*, and so they made them in *Italy*, or of *Asparagus*, and so they made them in *Beotia*, or else of the leaves of the hearbs Σισύμβριον, Σήσαμον, and Μάκων, and so they made them at *Athens*, Σήσαμα γὰρ καὶ μάκωνας καὶ σισύμβρια φύλλα εἰς στεφάνους τοὺς γαμοῦντας says the *a* Scholiast, the leaves had the name of the Hearb in the plural number. The *Garland* made of *Sesamum leaves* had the name of Σησαμὴ or Σησαμὶς, but the *Cake* which they made of the grain was called Σησαμοῦς. For Cakes they usually bestowed upon them at their day of Marriage, as well as Garlands, as *He* sayes in the *a* Comedy (telling how all things were now ready for the Wedding)

Ὁ πλακοῦς πέπεπται Σησαμὴ ξυμπεφόρηται·

And made they were of *Sesamum* rather than any other thing διὰ τὸ πολύσπορον (sayes the Scholiast) as if it were the herb

b Ism. l. 10.

c. L. 3. Met.

d Sat. 9.

f De Coron. Milit. c. 13.

a Upon Aristoph in Pa.

a Aristoph. Pac.

herb *Polygonum*, a name very ominous to the new Married people. Whether the custome of kembing her hair with a Spear (such as had been kept by a fencer with the loss of his life) were in use among the *Grecian* women too (as some *b* say it was) I cannot determine: But among the *Romans* it was, and they called such a spear *hastam cælibarem*. The reason why the Woman made use of such a comb, or made this use of a spear, is thought to be, either *quasi fortes eâ de causâ viros se gesturæ ominetur*, because she ominated that by this meâns she should have strong men to her children, or *quod sponsi disciplinæ se subditam fateatur*. Because she acknowleg'd her self subject to her husbands discipline. As the woman went forth of her fathers house, she was to be *lifted* out over the threshold, just as the Emperours were wont to be lifted by the Souldiers at the time of the Election, to pretend a constraint. You see, 'tis *ducere* (*Uxorem*) almost every where, and yet they say, that *Love will Creep where it cannot go*. As she entred into her Husbands house, the [a] Boys and Maids fell a throwing of Figs and Junkets upon the head of the Bride, not to upbraid him of *sycophancy*, but as an *omen* of *fruitfulness* (εὐκαρπίας σημεῖον, says *Rhodiginus* out of *Theopompus*) which puts me in mind of a foolish custome once in fashion with some of us, *viz.* upon *Twelfe-Eve* (as they call'd it) to put part of their toasted *Bran-cake* upon one of their Trees, and so to cry *Whatsa, le*, and sing a *Carmen* for a fruitful year. The trumpery thus thrown or poured out, they called κατάχυσματα, as the word is used by the Poet in his Comœdy of *Pluto*, where he brings in the Woman ready to do the like upon him, and so to give him the *Joy* for his new bought eyes; says she

—Κομῶ τὰ κατάχυσματα
Ὥσπερ νεανίσκου τὸ δυσμικοῖς ἰγὼ.

Upon which words the Scholiast notes it to have been the custome also for a new servant, at his first coming into the house, to have him to the fire side, and there to *strew* upon his head κάρυα, ἴσχάδας, σύκα, Junkets, and Figs, and Palm-branches, and a hundred other such trinkets. But this nothing was done not onely as he says, ἐπὶ εὐκαρπίᾳ τῶν

b Alex ab alex. l. 2. c. 9.

[a] Arist. in Pluto

make it an *omen* of fruitfulneſs (as they had done to his Maſter before) but alſo for the benefit of the old Servants, who when the *Scamble* was made, gathered up all that was thrown, and demanded it for their due, as *Seniors* (in *Oxford*) do the *Freſhmens Gaudies*. All this while the Gods were not forgotten neither, but ſome *beaſt* or other was beſtowed upon *them* for a *victime*. In the cutting of it up (to ſhew that in Wedlock all bitterneſs and choller muſt be caſt aſide) they took the [a] Gall, and flung it with a moſt eager loathing behind the Altar during the time of Sacrifice. If there happened any thing *obſcene* or unlucky, the Nuptials were diſſolv'd; and thus it happened to [b] *Clitophon*, and *Calligone*; for an Eagle came and ſnatcht away a piece of the Sacrifice as it lay upon the Altar. Now this Sacrifice was uſually performed by the Fathers (and none ſo fit to be the Prieſts of their own family) as may be gathered from the practiſe of [c] *Agamemnon*; who when his Wife call'd upon him to make ready the *Wedding cheer*, very religiouſly made anſwer yes,

[a] Cæl. Rhod. l. 28. c. 21.

[b] Ach. Tat. l. 2.

[c] Eurip. Iph. in A. v. 721.

Θύσας γὰμους ἅπερ ἔχεις θύσας σεῦ.
When I have done my Wedding *Sacrifice*.

As alſo by that which you may read of the like practiſe in *Achilles Tatius*, where he ſpeaks of the Marriages of *Leucippe* and *Calligone*. In this Sacrifice they directed their Prayers in a more eſpeciall manner to *Jupiter* Ὁμόγνιον, and *Juno* Ζυγία, as it may appear by that of *Libanius*, Libanius Declam. 35. ... By reaſon of this, and other ſolemnities of their Weddings, you will not imagine what a Prophanation they made it to diſturb the buſineſs never ſo little, or to offer any *incivility* to either of the parties, eſpecially to the Wife: as for inſtance; One *Callicles* (of whom you may read the ſtory in *Photius Codice* 98.) being accuſed of Bribery to the *Areopagus*, they ſummon'd him to make his appearance at the Court to anſwer the crime; but the Sergeants that were ſent (ſaith my Author) ... ἔχει

ἔξω ἐστεφανωμένον γυναικὸς νυμφίου, as soon as they saw but the *signs* of a Wedding (the Garlands which hung at the door) & were informed of a Nuptial Sacrifice, because they would not rush in uncivilly upon the new Married Wife, they made no more enquiry after the man, but returned presently back again, and the Court was contented with the news. So likewise in the Wars with King *Philip*, having intercepted several Letters of his to his friends, and amongst the rest one that was directed to his Wife *Olympia*, when they came to reading of the Letters in the Court, they no sooner cast their eye upon that to his Wife, but presently every one cry'd out μήτε λύειν μήτε ἀναγινώσκειν, that it might not be read, nor so much as broken up. [a] Περὶ γὰρ γαμετῆς γυναικὸς καὶ διὰ γραμμάτων ὁμιλίαν ἀπόῤῥητον ἀνδρὸς, καὶ οὐδέποτε δημοσίαν ἔσεσθαι ἐνοίκοις ἦν, because they thought it a thing no way becoming them to divulge that most secret converse by letters betwixt a man and his wife. From the service of their *Gods*, they made haste to the service of their *Genius*; but amidst a great deal of good cheer, the man and the wife were always noted [a] for a great deal of temperance too. The Bread which they had was carried about in a basket by a Boy with his Garland of Thorns, and boughs of Acorns, singing as he went [b] εὐγενόμαν, εὗρον ἄμεινον, *I* (or *they*) *have avoided a worse evil, and met with a better*. If he speak in the person of the man, he meant that he had met with *optimum malorum*, the best of the *three evils* at the least; & so it is not so bad as *out of the frying pan into the fire* (unless you will prize the finding of a Wife, after the rate of loosing her, for so (they say) *he that hath lost his Wife and six pence, hath some loss by the many*. The Musick which they had was singing ἀμοιβαῖον, by turns, and calling upon *Hymenæus* (as the Romans did upon *Thalassius*) [c] Ὑμὴν ὦ Ὑμέναιε, ὦ Ὑμήν, imitated by him in *Plautus*.

[a] Photius ib.

[a] Athenæus lib. 9.

[b] Zenobius.

[c] Aristi. in Avid.

Io Hymen, Hymenæe, Ió Hymen.

And this they did either in a *thankful commemoration* of one of that name, who had sometimes saved the Maids of *Athens* from a general ravishment; (such as there was once of the *Sabines*);

Sabinos) or else in a *sorrowful commiseration* of another, that happen'd to be killed by the fall of a house that very day that he Married. Whatever the *Man* was, they seem to have given him the honour of a God, and therefore to have been very loath to give him distaste, in omitting any part of the Nuptial Ceremonies.

Quid si etiam offendam Hymenæum?

saies he in [a] *Plautus*. And this it was that made them keep such a noyse in the Streets, as they did with their *Io Hymen Hymenæe*, as soon as ever she was out of her Fathers house.

[a] In Casinam Act. 4. Sc. 3.

ἡνίκ' ἐξὸν νυμφίοισιν ἐξάγω κόρην.

saies *Clytemnestra*; [b] which agrees with that of the other Poet in the same place.

[b] Eurip Iphig in A. v. 693.

Age tibicen, dum illam educunt huc novam nuptam foras,
Suavi cantu concelebra omnem hanc plateam, Hymenæe.

Whether 'twere the fashion in *Greece* to set the woman first in the lapp of *Priapus*, I cannot tel; but (if I mistake not) *Lactantius* has somewhat of such a thing, and I might speak more of *Priapus* too, if it were fitting. As the woman was led into the Chamber (ἡ θάλαμον or ἡ παστάδα) to shew whereto she must, there was a sieve carried along with her, and a pestle hung at the door, σημεῖα αὐτουργίας (as *I Pollux* saies) or to signifie that hereafter she must learn to *put her hand* to any kind of labour. When the Man and the Woman were *both* in (for the Woman was in first, as the fashion is with *Us*) according to *Solons* own order, they were to take a *Quince apple*, and eat it between them, ὅτι δεῖ πρῶτον τὸν σύμβιον χάριν ἀναμεῖναι τῇ φωνῇ καὶ ἡδονήν, saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Solon*, to signifie *the pleasantness and harmony that should be in their talk at first*. And yet notwithstanding now they are in the very Bed-chamber, if a Chough would come and scold (*grave cornicaretur* forsooth) 'twas enough to make them part for that time (at least) and leave the *building imperfect*; and this they called ἀτελῆ οἶκον: or γάμον ἀτελῆ, because by this means

[a] Valer. Flac.

—*Conjux miseranda Cayco*
Linquitur & primo Domus Imperfecta cubili.

δῶμα

δῶμα I said (or if you will ἀστειότερον speak a little finer) δωμάτιον, for this word is many times used by it self for θάλαμος, as it seems to be by *Plato* in his third book *de Repub.* speaking of *Jupiter* thus, ᾧ ὅπως ἀπαγέντα ἰδόντα τὴν ἥβην, ὥστε μηδὲ εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον ἐθέλειν ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ βουλόμενον χαμαὶ συγγίγνεσθαι. And yet I think *b Hesiod* (without any wrong done him) may be understood of any other business left *Roughhewn, unpolish'd*, or not *done over* again, when he saies. b Eſy. l. 2.

Μηδὲ δόμον ποιῶν ἀτελεύτητον καταλείπειν,
Μήτοι ἐρεζεμένη κραιὴ λακέρυζα κορώνη.

c Ismenius applies it indeed to our purpose; but now to prevent such an *omen* as this, they set the boys to cry Κόρη ἀπὸ κόρει κορώνην, in manner of a *Scare-cry*, as if they had been set to keep off the Rooks from the corn: κορώνην (I say) and not κορώνας, in the plural number: for herein the *Scholiast* upon *Pindar* is supposed to have mistaken; because neither that bird, nor the Turtle at the making of their *Augury* (which was commonly the day before the Wedding) was ever wont to be lookt upon as unlucky; unless it came in the singular number; and then the *birds* being singled & divided one from the other, could not possibly be a good sign to those that were to be *coupl'd*, and joyn'd together. But some notwithstanding like the Choughs for *very good lucky birds* (as we use to say) let them come how they will; either because they are πολύζωοι (as *Homer* calls them) long liv'd, or because *in cornicum societate est* (saies *a* one) *ut ex duabus Sociis, altera extincta, vidua altera perpetua maneat.* Now in the Chamber where they were to lie, they had two beds, *viz.* Κλίνην γαμικὴν, and κλίνην ἐκβύσιον, or a *side-bed* for a change, or ἐπὶ τῇ πλανῇ παῖδα μὴ ἀναμίσγου saith *Hesychius*. If the parties that were married were very young, their Poets would term the bed κυρίδιον λέχος, as *Aristophanes* does (in *Pace*) and so κυρίδιον * δῶμα for the house, and κυρίδια for the wife. Before the woman could lie with the man, she was to have her bath of water heated of purpose to wash her body in, νομφικὸν λοῦτρον they called it, according to that of the Comedian in *Lysistrate*. c Apud Eust. l. 5. a Alex. ab Alc. l. 2. c. 5. * Homer.

Στρ. Εἰ ἦμμαι πυγχάνεις ἔχων, λῦσαν, παρέξω.
Χορ. Ἐμοὶ σὺ λῦσον ὥσπερεί; Στρ. καὶ τοῦτο γιμερτέον.

And in *Pace*, you have *Trigæus* when he intended to marry *Opora*, giving order to his servant, as soon as he had brought her to his house, first to provide him a pot of Water, and afterward to make the bed.

Ἀλλ' εἴσαχ' ὡς τάχιστα ταυτηνὶ λαβών,
Καὶ τὸ πύελον κατάπλυνε, κἀνθέμενος ὕδωρ
Στόρνυθι μου κἀν τῇ θαλάμῳ κλινίδιον λέχθω.

This water at first was fetcht as far as from *Callirhoe* well, ἐκ τῆς καλλιρρόης εἶτ' αὖθις ἐκ τῆς ἐννεακρούνου καλουμένης, *But afterward*, saies *a Pollux*, from *Enneacrunos*, which was so called because it had nine several κρῆναι, or *fistulæ*, or *salientes*, where the water sprung up, and so you might allow one for every Muse in the City. But what if *Callirhoe* and *Enneacrunus* were but two distinct names of the same Well: The one expressing what *fair water* it was, or how well and clear it ran, and the other in how many places: for it may very well be thought so by that verse of *b Statius*

Et quos Callirhoe nonis errantibus undis
Implicat——

a Lib. 3. c. 13.

b Theb. 12.

Nay, *Thucidides* saies positively, they were the same Onely that when the Well was repair'd by the Tyrants (as it was usual when they new made a thing to give it a new name) it received the name of *Enneacrunos*. Which if it be so, I think it may be no offence to *Pollux*, when I come to that place of his formerly cited, to read it thus ἐκ τῆς Καλλιρρόης, εἶτ' αὖθις τῆς ἐννεακρούνου καλουμένης. From *Callirhoe* afterward named *Enneacrunus*. The woman whom they imploy'd to fetch this water, was commonly called the Λυχναίθυια. When the wife was ready to undress, her Mother took her hairlace and winding it about one of the *Torches* (for they had λαμπάδας νυμφευτρίας too) burnt it out, and made up her hair with a new. The *Mother* I said, For *she* commonly would λυχνεῖν, carry the torches, or *hold the candle* to it, or any other work which the *Pronuba's* used to do.

—*Non te deduxit in thalamos parens*

Comitata

Comitata primos, nec ſua feſtas manu
Ornavit ædes, nec ſuâ lætas faces
Victa revinxit— ſaies * *Jocaſta.* * Senec. Theb.

For the matter of theſe Torches, or of what kind of wood they were made, I am not aſſur'd: whether it were *Corylus*, commonly uſed for ſuch purpoſes, according to *Pliny*; or *Larex*, or *Spina Alba*, which they uſed amongſt the Romans: and ſo likewiſe for their number, whether the cuſtom were to have juſt five according to the number of the Gods which they pray'd to, viz. *Jupiter Adultus*, *Juno Adulta*, *Venus*, *Suadela*, & *Lucina*, they have not given me light enough to diſcover; a little glimmering I have, and ſome cauſe to conjecture, that there was a certain number required. Otherwiſe why ſhould the covetous Father in *a Libanius* complain ſo heavily (among other charges he was put to in marrying his daughter) that he could not ἐπὶ λυχνῳ τὸν γαμβρὸν ἀγαγεῖν, light the Bride to bed with one and no more. But for the bearer that it was uſually the Mother, will appear by the diſcourſe that paſſed between *Clytemneſtra* and her Huſband in the * *Poet*; for when her Husband bid her go back again to *Argos*, & leave her daughter with him, ſhe askt him

——————τίς δ' ἀναξίνα φλόγα, *but who ſhall carry the Torches then?* and being anſwered ἐγὼ πατέρι φῶς, ἃ γυναιξὶ πρέπει, that he meant to do it himſelf: nay quoth ſhe οὐκ ὀρθὸν οὔτοι κἀμὲ τοῦτ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, *that was not the cuſtom, neither do you your ſelf think it to be handſome and fitting.* And indeed, I think, *Clytemneſtra* was wrong'd, for it ſeems to have been reckoned not ſo much the *office* and the *charge* as the *Priviledge*, and the *honour* of the Grecian Woman. And therefore *Medea* made it one of the ſad conſequents of her baniſhment from the company of her Children, to be debarred the bearing of the Torches at their Wedding. *O my dear children, quoth ſhe, what a Wretch am I, who muſt thus leave you before I carry the Torches.*

a Περὶ λέκτρων καὶ γυναικὸς καὶ γαμηλίου
Εὐφρὼς ἀγάλλει, λαμπάδας τ' ἀναίθειν.

a Eurip. Med. 1025.

'Tis true, if *Agamemnon* had deſir'd only to have *lighted* the

Torches, she might very well have been blam'd for her passion, because then he had done no more than other fathers used to doe. Δᾷδας γαμηλίους ἀπέκαιον: *I lighted the Torches*, says he in * *Libanius*. But this office neither of them could challenge from the other, but they shar'd it between them, for the Mothers might do it too, if we may believe the Author in these words which he puts in *Niobes* mouth (but took them out of *Medea's* upon the death of her children) Ἐγὼ δ' λαμπάδα γαμήλιον ὤμην προσάψειν (nor onely ἐκαιόμην) τοῖς νυμφίοις ἢ ταῖς παρθένοις; *I made account to have lighted a Torch at the Wedding* &c. At *Sparta* there was none of these doings, only the *Pronuba shaved* the woman (whether because she had *vowed* to be henceforth her Husbands) and so delivered her up to the man (if she had gone among the * *Israelites* when she was thus used, certainly the people there would have taken her for a *captive* Wife (the *Zona* which the Woman wore was untied by the Husband in the bed, ζώνη δ' ἣν κύκλος ἀμφὶ λέκτρον αἱ παρθένοι, ὅς ἐγὼ λύθη σεῖο δὲ παρθένου γένοιτο, says the *Scholiast* upon *Euripides* in *Helena*: certainly the name of Λυσζώνη might be given to *Diana* as seasonably then as at the time of Child-bearing, and worshipped she was then as well as at any other time. But at which of the times it was that they gave her the *Zona*, or whether there were another yet to be unty'd besides this; or whether it was tyed and untyed again; or whether one knot were untyed at first time, and another at the second, there's the *knot* of the question (if we may question for knots in bulrushes.) indeed that there was a *Zona* untied the Wedding night, I think it may be proved by those words of *Alcestes*.

Ὦ λέκτρον, ἔνθα παρθένου λύω ζώνην ἐγὼ
Κορδίματ' ἐν σοὶ δ' ἐνθάδε ἐς.——

And that there was another left to be untied at the time of child-bearing, I have reason to conjecture from the *Herculaneus nodus* formerly mentioned; because (I suppose) they call'd it by that name in allusion not so much to *Hercules* his strength, as if they would have it the *faster*, that is the stronger

* Decl. 35.

* Deut. 22: 21.

ſtronger ty'd; as to his happineſs in making of children, as if they would have it the faſter *knot*'d, as faſt as ever it was by *Hercules*, who had ſeventy children juſt. After they were both in bed, the Boyes and Maids (whom we may call the *Children of the Bridegroom*) ſtood at the chamber door, and ſung their ὑμεναίαια or γαμήλια, with as great noiſe as poſſibly they could, ἵνα τῆς παρθένου βιαζομένης καὶ τὸ ἀνδρὸς ἥσσονα μὴ ἐξακούσθαι, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Theocritus*, ſo that if the Wife ſhould *Cry out* (as we ſay) before her time, ſhe might not be heard. Which they had no ſuch need to doe, if that be true which they ſay, that one of the *Brides* friends, whom they called the παρανύμφους, uſually did him that good office, to ſtand Sentinel at the door, and keep the women off from coming to help her. All this while the man was not ſo much *wedded* to his *pleaſure*, as to be clean *divorced* from his friends; for beſides the feaſt which he made altogether for the woman (called Θεσμοφόρια, by *Iſæus* in his oration for *Pyrrhus*) he made another for the ἑταίρους, as his father in law had done before him. This making of Feaſts at Weddings was properly called δαῖτα τοῦ γάμου, as it is in the Tragedy. Pollux l. 3. c. 3.

Κἀ ἄτερπα δαῖτες τοῦ γάμου—

And a little before,

Ἐνταῦθ' ἑδαίσατ' Πηλέως γάμους θεοί.

Neither was the Woman and her Mother behind hand at this kind of work; for they alſo kept a Feaſt of purpoſe for the woman beſides. And therefore ſays *Clytemneſtra* in the place but now cited, Iphig in Aul. v. 707. & 720.

Ἡμεῖς γ' ἑορτὴν τῇ γυναικὶ ἑστιῶμεν;

The ſaying *aujourdhuy marié, & demain marri*, to day Wedded, and to morrow ſadded, would ſcarce hold true among them. For the day after the Wedding, the Mirth ran as freſh as ever it did before, and the gifts were carryed to the houſe in pomp, a Boy in a white coat walking before with a Torch in his hand, and the bearers in the rear, with ſuits of Clothe's and all ſorts of Houſhould ſtuffe, as Spoones, and Cups, and the like, a cuſtome obſerved by the *Lacedæmonians* with ſo much pride and exceſſe, that *Solon* was fain to make

a Law to restrain the Suits to the number of three, and the rest of the things to a lower price. The gifts then bestowed, they called ἀναῖλια (as those which I presented you before, were called προαῖλια) and sometime ἀναφόνια, as being that which (to speak in *Juvenals* words)

Primâ pro nocte datur— and such gifts *Medea* once sent by her children to *Glauca*. But so with a vengeance, as she made them ἀδῶρα δῶρα, killing her with the Spit, from which she gave her the roast.

a Eurid. Med. v. 784.

a Πέμψω γὰρ αὐτοῖν δῶρ' ἔχοντας ἐν χεροῖν
Νύμφῃ φέροντε, &c.

1. Pollux. l. 3. c. 3.

And this puts me in mind of some that reckon three daies for a Wedding, allowing προαῖλια for the first, ἀναῖλια (when the garment called ἀναλυσία was given by the Woman to the Man) for the second, and ἐπαύλια for the third.

CAP. VIII.

Quo tempore optimè ducatur Uxor.

THe time of the *year* which they deemed most lucky to marry in (for almost every Nation has had their *Nefastous* times and daies) was the first Month of the Winter. (Clean contrary to the custome of the *Persians*, who thought it fitter to follow natures example, and set upon the worke of Generation in the Spring.) But though they *chalked* but one part of the year, I hope they did not mark all the rest with a *coal*, neither can I think they had the same opinion of all the other Months, which the Romans had only of the Month of *May*, a *Mense malas Maii nubere*. it may be *malum* by b *Plutarches* consent. The best day of the *Month*, they reckon'd to be the middle or the Full of the Moon; that they might be *brought to bed* (as we say) the sooner, and grow the fuller themselves. But the best part of the *day* was the last, or the next to the night, and so they might *go to bed* the sooner. Just at these seasons *Themis* in * *Pindar* would have *Thetis* to be married to *Peleus*, as appears in those words of hers (and the Poets)

a Ovid. l. 5. Fast

b Quæst. Rom. 8. 6.

* Isthm. H.

——ἐν δ' ἑβδομάδι τὰ μέγιστα·
Δὶς ἰσάριθμος ἑορτὴ
Νύμφῃσι γαμηλίοις ἐπέλθῃ·
Φ' ἡμέρᾳ παρθενίας

But I make no queſtion, (as exact as they were in *Marrying*) many of them had the fortune to be *born* ἐν τετράδι *Quartâ Lunâ* as *Hercules* had; beſides* *Heſiod* is of his opinion that the fourth day (and I believe he means μηνὸς ἰσαμέτου of the firſt third part of the Month) was a very good day to be Married in, ſo that no *Oſcinous* bird did *obſcevare* or *occinere*, *ſing another ſong* to the contrary. * Ιερ. γ. l. 31.

Ἐν δὲ τετάρτῃ μηνὸς ἀγαθὸν ἀνδρὶ γενέσθαι,
Οἰωνοὺς κρίνας οἱ ἐπ' ἔργματα τέρπει ἄειδοι.

Whereas the ἕκτη μηνὸς (as he calls the eighteenth day, if you reckon thirty dayes to the Month) was in his judgment all as bad again, eſpecially for the Woman. But I muſt confeſſe, I rather incline to the judgment of the Goddeſſe, eſpecially having [a] Agememnon too (a man) on my ſide, who when the queſtion was ask'd ---τίνι δ' ἡμέρᾳ γαμεῖν; made anſwer. [a] Eurip. Iphig. in Av. 717.

Ὅταν σελήνης εὐτυχὴς ἔλθῃ κύκλος

When that bleſſed ſeaſon of Full Moon ſhall come.

I do not find the *Romans* to have been ſo ſcrupulous as to think Marriage to be *imperfect*, unleſſe it were at the *full*, or never to be as good as it ſhould be, except it were *in Medio*, like the vertues. 'Tis true, the *Calends* and the *Nones*, and the *Ides*, were daies of another *colour*, black and unſuitable with the mirth of a Wedding; and ſo were all Holy-dayes whatſoever, and the reaſon you have given by [b] *Macrobius* in theſe words, *Feriis autem vim cuiquam fieri piaculare eſt: Ideo tunc vitantur nuptiæ, in quibus vis fieri virginibus videtur*: To whom if you object that the Nones were no Holy-days, he will reply, that neither were the Nones Holy days to any, neither *Religious* days (as they call'd them) to ſuch as intended to Marry, but only thus: all your *poſtriduani dies*, that is, the firſt days after the Ides, or the Nones, or the Calends, being accounted *atri*, were not to admit of any Sacrifice. Now every, [b] L. 1. Sat. c. 15.

every new married Wife, the day after the Wedding was to offer a Sacrifice, which ſhe could not do if ſhe married upon the Nones. 'Tis true a *Widdow* might be ſuffered to Marry upon a Holy-day; (and *Varro* will tell you the reaſon) but in the *Parentalia* in *February*, and the Feaſt of the *Salii* in *March* none at all. Beſides having of *non-licet* dayes, they had a cuſtome to Marry onely upon ſuch a day, as by the judgment of the Aſtrologer (to whom they fought) [c] *copulas nuptiales affirmet*. But ſo much may ſuffice concerning the *time* of Marriage. I proceed to ſpeak the qualifications of the perſons to be Married.

[c] Apul.

CAP. IX.

Quæ requirantur in Marito.

THe Conditions required in a Husband were theſe. Firſt, he muſt be no ſtranger; for if he could be prov'd that he was; both his goods and he too were ſold; and the third part of the price went to the informer. Secondly, he muſt be no leſſe than five and thirty years old, according to the *Law*; and according to [a] *Ariſtotle* two years elder. But according to *Heſiod* a little younger, or a little elder is ſeaſonable enough.

[a] Polit. 7.

Μήτε τριηκόντων ἐτέων μάλα πόλλ' ἀπολείπειν
Μήτ' ἐπιθεὶς μάλα πολλά.

Thirdly if the Woman with whom he was to Marry, were ἐπίκληρος, ſole Daughter and Heir (ſuch a one as *Ariſtophanes in Veſpis* calls ἐπιδικαστρίδα or πατροῦχον) he muſt be one of the ſame houſe, and the next of the blood. But then there alwayes were, and (it may be) there ought to be (as I have known the like in other matters) ſome others of the Kinred (if they were to be gotten) to controvert the buſineſs with him and plead to the ſame; and then ſuch Women were called ἐπίδικοι, [b] and the whole ſuit Ἀμφισβήτησις: The queſtion was wont to be decided by the *Prætor*. Laſtly, he muſt not be one that had another Wife yet living with him, at leaſt he might not

[b] l. Poll. l. 3. c. 3.

not be ſo upon pain of being accounted a fellow of *no account*, or repute among the Citizens. For *Charondas* having made this Law, Μήτ' εἰσδικαζέσθω, μήτε μητρυιὰν ἐπάγων τοῖς πολίταις ὁ παῖς ἢν ἀπὸ μητρὸς ἐπάγων; *whoſoever ſhall ſuper inducere novercam, let him be* ἄτιμος, *&c.* Beſides the hurt done to the Children (it being as *good to have the Divell to their Dame, as a Stepdame*) gave one pretty reaſon more againſt being the *Husband of two Wives* in this ſenſe, by way of *dilemma*: you ſhall have his words, as I found them in *a Arſenius* his Ἀποφθέγματα Φιλοσόφων *&c.* ſaies he, Εἰ τ' ἐπέτυχες τῇ γήμας τὸ πρῶτον ἐφύλαττες ἂν ἡμέρᾳ τε καὶ πάντων, εἰ τ' οὐκ ἐπέτυχες, μανικὸν τὸ πρᾶξας δεύτερας λαβεῖν πάλιν, ἢ τῇ ἀνοήτως ὃς εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκπεσὼν λίθον ἐμπεσεῖν ἄρρων ἂν δικαίως νομισθείη, *If thou hadſt good luck in thy firſt Wife, thou ſhould'ſt have kept thee well while thou waſt well: if thou had'ſt not, thou art little better than a Fool or a Madman, to ſtumble again at the ſame ſtone.* a Moemnbaſiæ Archiepiſ.

CAP. X.

Quæ requirantur in Uxore.

THe Qualification, required in a Wife, were theſe. Firſt ſhe muſt be *free*, before ſhe put her neck in the *yoak*. For otherwiſe the Marriage was counted πρᾶσις rather than γάμος, and you might call the Woman (in the words of *Heſiod*) κτητὴν ἀγαμητήν —— If ſhe were a ſtranger, ſhe muſt pay ſoundly for it, no leſs than a thouſand δραχμαὶ to the City. This Law though it were for a time *let down* by *Pericles* his ill example, yet it was *brought up* again by *Ariſtophon*. Secondly, ſhe muſt be ſix and twenty years of Age. And yet *Ariſtotle* even in *b Policy* can be very well contented to let the Woman Marry at eighteen, Out of indulgence to the Sexe ſurely: for elſe he thinks it very unfitting they ſhould Marry ſo young, both becauſe ἐν τοῖς τόκοις πονοῦσι μᾶλλον, &c. they travell with a great deal more labour, and labour for their travel with a great deal more intemperance; and alſo becauſe he had obſerv'd that in thoſe places where they uſed b L. 7. c. 16.

to make ſuch haſte, ἥτοι μὴ γὰρ οἱ πρόμοι ἦσαν, the Puppies for the moſt part were blind, not ſo perfect, or not ſo bigge
[a] Heſiod. Oper. of ſtature as elſe they would be. But then there is [a] another who would be willing to let them Marry a year or two ſooner than he,

Ἡ δ' γυνὴ τέτρῳ ἔτεϊ, πέμπτῳ δ' γαμοῖτο.

[a] Eurip. in Hel. v. 12. And [a] another ſooner yet (if I do not miſtake)

Ἐπὶ δ' εἰς ἥβην ἦλθεν, ὡρχίοις γάμοις.

Cùm ad pubertatem venit, tempeſtivis nuptiis

Thirdly ſhe muſt be but one, and no more according to
[b] L. 13. [b] *Athenæus*, and yet about *Socrates* his time, by reaſon of the ſcarcity of men to make the more haſte for a recruit, they made an Act for toleration of keeping a Concubine; whom they made uſe of only *ad concumbendum*, (for the preſent occaſion) and that Children begotten upon ſuch a Woman were accounted for γνήσιοι, *as good as the beſt*. And what will you ſay, if *Socrates* himſelf made uſe of this liberty? For I have read he did, and that beſides *Xanthippe* the ſhrew, he had another named *Myrto*, the daughter of *Ariſtides*, of which two it is ſaid, that upon a time they fell out, and were preſently reconcil'd again by their husband, who told them, it was a ſhame for two handſome Women as they were thus to
[c] Rhod. Pinacius. fall out for one unhandſome Man. But [c] others there be again that deny the whole. During that liberty, I cannot ſee how the Etymology could hold water, ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ νέμεσθαι τὴν οὐσίαν), Unleſs you will have the man to ſtand out. [a] *Hermione* her
[a] Eurip. Androm. v. 177. ſelf, though ſhe were *ſuperinduſta* over *Andromache's* head, did altogether diſlike the increaſe of the number.

—ἐμὲ δ' οὐκέτι
Ἀνὴρ γυναικὸς ἄνδρ' ἔχειν ἀρέσκεται.

Which words of hers were preſently ſeconded by thoſe of the *Chorus*.

Ἐπίφοβος ἡ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὑπεροψία,
Καὶ ξυγγαμοῦσαι δυσκόλοις μάλιστ' ἐμοί.

Such contemptuous things the Women are,
Than fellow-wives they cannot beare.

[b] Eurip. ib. And verily they have been, not only by her own example

in

in conſpiring the death of *Andromache*: but by the ordinary practice of other ſuch Wives among the Greeks, eſpecially in the Country of *Epirus*, when one to bring the Husband out of love with the other, made uſe of Magical deviſes, eſpecially ſuch as might hinder her bearing Children to him, and ſo conſequently his bearing affection to her, there being no better way than *a partu retinere maritos*. Thus *Neoptolemus* was made to hate his Wife *Hermione*, as ſhe ſuppos'd, and ſo ſhe told the other. a Juven. Sat. 2.

—συχνῶν γ' ἀνδρὶ φαρμάκοισι σοῖς
Νικᾷς δ' ἀκύμων διὰ σὲ μοι λέλυται.

When ſuch courſes as theſe are taken.

b *Turgida non prodeſt condita pyxide Lyde*, Neither the keeping of a ſpider in a box, nor the laſh of a naked *Lupercus* will do any good. Fourthly, ſhe might be halfe a ſiſter to the husband, ſo it be meant not ὁμομήτριος, or ὁμογάστριος, or *uterina*; but only ὁμοπάτριος, by the Fathers ſide, or *germana*, as the word is uſed by *Æmilius Probus*; (whether in its *germane ſenſe* I know not) where he ſpeaks of *Cymon's* marrying his Siſter *Elpinice*, *Habuit autem in Matrimonio ſororem germanam ſuam, nomine Elpinicen, non magis amore, quam patrio more dictum: nam Athenienſibus licet eodem patre natas Uxores ducere*. This Act of *Cimon's* *Athenæus* thinks to have been done παρανόμως contrary to the Lawes, and ſo in a clancular way. But *Plutarch* ſaies he did it in a publick manner, not only by making her his concubine to lye with him, συνῆναι, (as he tearms it) which agrees with that which I told you before concerning *Convenio*, but συνοικῆσαι, taking her into his houſe to live with him; and that for a lawful cauſe, (as he thought) *viz.* becauſe ſhe was to ſeek of a Husband fit for her condition. But for all this, I do not ſee how he could by a Grecian well be excus'd, for *Hermione* (in the place above commended) made it alike *barbarous*, b Juven. ib. L. 13.

—παῖς ἢ μητρὶ μίγνυται
Κἀδελφὸς ἀδελφῇ—

When Son is joyn'd with Mother,
Or Siſter with the Brother.

Unleſs you will maintain the goodneſs of the practiſe then; by the greatneſs of the Perſon that uſed it before, I mean *Jupiter* and *Juno*, who had but one Womb, one birth and one bed, (when they pleas'd) Fifthly,) ſhe muſt be no Baſtard, unleſs ſhe were intended for a Baſtard-maker, and in a *Proletarium* manner, only for *breed*, I mean for a Concubine: for ſuch I take to be little better than what *Talthibius* once ſaid poor *Caſſandra* was like to be made by *Agamemnon*, *viz.* *a* λέκτρων σκότια γυμεδτήρια, and the Children little better than Σκότιοι, if the Father were more in the *dark*. As for the Portion or Eſtate, ſhe was either ἐπίκληρος, one that had no Brother, and was Heir to the whole Eſtate; or ἐπίπροικος; that had a Brother, and no more than her part, or a *portion*. The greateſt diſtinction between a Wife and a Concubine, was the having a προῖξ, or a portion. Inſomuch that if any married with a Woman that had none, but was ἄπροικος; yet he would have προικῶα, the *Writings*, formally drawn up however, to make the World believe the beſt. Thoſe writings were ſign'd and ſeal'd in the preſence of witneſſes, and the man did ἐνέχυρόν τι ἀποτίμημα; make over to the Woman ſome Houſe or Land in exchange, and this they call'd *a* ἀντίμημα.

a Eurip. in Troad. v. 251.

a Harpocr.

CAP. XI.

De Divortiis.

AND now that they are Married, the Husband was to lye with the Wife thrice in a month (once for every part, for they divided their Month into three parts,) or elſe if ſhe were an ἐπίκληρος ſhe might go to *another*, unleſs he were able to excuſe himſelf by a lawful impediment. Such as coming from funerals is accounted by *b Heſiod* in thoſe words of his: Μήδ' ἀπὸ δυσφήμοιο τάφου ἀπονοσφίσσασθαι, Σπερμαίνειν γυναικὶ.

Or by any other unſeaſonableneſs of time; for that they thought ſome times more ſeaſonable than other, and ſome fitter

fitter to beget Men-children than Women, may appear by the words of the ſame Poet: ſpeaking of the ſixt day of the middle part of the month.

Ἀνδρόγεω δ' ἀγαθὴ, κύρη δ' ἐ ξύμφορός ἐστι.

And a little after of two other dayes.

Ἕβδὴ δ' ἀνδρόγεω· δευτάτη, κύρη δέ τε τέτρατη.

But if they were about any ſolemne Sacrifice to the Gods, be the time what it would, it could never be lucky for either. And therefore at ſuch times they uſed (as well as the Iſraelites) to abſtain altogether, or ἀγνᾶς ἔχειν, *purè habere*, as the Poet call'd it *in Aſinario*.

Si forte purè velle habere dixerit.

If a Wife that was an ἐπίκληρος were overlaid, or any way abus'd by her Husband, ſhe might have a writ κακώσεως ἢ ἐπιλήψεως, otherwiſe called δίκην γαμικὴν, and be ſuffered to leave him; and this they called [a] ἀπολείπειν: whereas if the Husband would part with *her*, it was call'd ἀποπέμπειν, becauſe he might tarry in his own houſe, and be rid of her company nevertheleſſe. But one thing I muſt tell you too, that for either party to *leave*, or to *put away* the other, was a thing always very much deteſted among the Grecians. Inſomuch that at *Sparta*, even then when the cuſtome was for ſo many men and Women to meet in the darke, and every one to *buy his pig in the poke*, the *Ephori* impos'd a mulct upon *Lyſander* himſelf for putting away one, that he did not like, for a better. But ἀπολείπειν, for the Woman to ſeperate from the Man, 'twas a thouſand times worſe than ἀποπέμπειν, even flat rebellion, or *delinquency* at the beaſt. Hear but what [b] *Medea* ſaies of it.

[a] Schol. in Ariſtoph. id Equit.

[b] Eurip. Med. p. 263.

— ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ ἐᾶν' πάλλαγὰς,
Γυναῖκ', ἀφ' οἵου τ' ἀνήνασθαι πόσιν.

Where ſhe puts it for one of the priviledges which the Man enjoys before the Women, to leave where he cannot like; whereas the poor *Wife* if ſhe be well us'd 'tis true, ξυνοικεῖν αἰῶν--*no life like hers*--οὐ γὰρ μὴ, --*but if ill*--ἀνιᾶν χρεὼν *there is no remedy but death or ſhe had better be out of the life*. On the other ſide, what an honour they counted it to live content

with one Wife, or one Husband in all: and what a diſpa-
ragement it was to Marry a Second, not onely after the Di-
vorce, but even after the death of the former, *a Euripides*
will tell you in the words of the *Chorus* to *Alceſtes*, thus
threatning her Husband, if he married again, though ſhe
were dead,

a In Alceſt. v. 464.

Εἰ δέ τιν' ἄλλον ἔκοιτον ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ σοῖς λέχεσι.
Ἡμέλ' ἐμοὶ γ' ἔτι εἶμι συγκτὶς.

But was it ſo indeed as *Medea* complained, and was the Wo-
man to be miſerable ſtill without any hopes of redreſſe? no,
for at length it was provided by the Law, that if ſhe found
the Conjugall yoake too ſtrait, and had a mind to ſlip the
Coller, ſhe was to make her complaint to the *Archon*: who
deputed other Judges to conſider if the cauſe were lawful,
and ſo to give her a Bill of Divorce with this condition, that
ſhe engage he ſelf to be bound, never to return to her Huſ-
bands houſe again: and when this was done, ſhe might ei-
ther have her Portion back again from her Husband, or elſe
ſerve him with a Writ ἐπὶ προικὸς δίκη, or allow her mainte-
nance, and ſo much a Month for uſe, as long as he detained
the money.

CAP. XII.

De Mulierum ſceleragogia, & ſervilibus miniſteriis.

BUT now whether the Woman reckon'd it ſufficient
cauſe to complain, to be put to ſervile employments,
I know not, ſuch abuſes as theſe were many times offered. I
do not ſo much ſtand upon keeping of the Keyes, or making
of the Bread; (whatever a *Hecuba* has complained of that
imployment) but the baſer ſort of ſervices, ſuch as fetching
of water upon their heads: which the poor old Maid in the
b Poët might juſtly make one of the ſaddeſt parts of her ſla-
viſh condition,

a Apud Eurip. Troad. v. 493.

b Id. in Elect. v. 55.

— τὰ δ' ἀγγεῖ' ἐπὶ τοῖς δ' ἐμοῖς ὤμοις φέρω
Φέρουσα πηγὰς ἀντλίας μιτρηχόμα.

It

It seems the Grecian Women their fashion of carrying water, was the same that ours is now; nay and the Roman too, for [c] *Ovid* saies of the Vestall Virgin her self (*Sylvia* I mean) (when she went to fetch Water, and slept away her Maidenhead, a good caveat for all sleepy servants)

Ponitur è summâ fictilis urna Comâ.

[c] L. 3. Fast.

And so likewise I did once conjecture that the men amongst them used to carry Water and other things too much in the same manner as they do with us, I mean with things put about their necks, because of that which the Poët saies of *Ulysses* his Marriners, when they took in fresh Water in *Sicily*.

— ἀμφὶ δ' ἀυ' χίλε
Τδ' χη φέρητας χαὶ δοῦς χοχμίους
Κρώσας δ' ὑδρηλὰς —

Now whereas I mention'd onely fetching of water, I might indeed have added, any other worke without doors, which belonged to the Men; for to them on the other side, it was reckon'd neither a duty, nor a thing beseeming to meddle with any thing within doors, or so much as to know what was done there, καὶ ἔτι χαλεπὸν τὰ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ περαίνεσθαι ἀνεπιστάτου. It is *Aristotle's* own *Oeconomicks*, at least τὰ περὶ γάμου, though not τὰ περὶ ἀρετῆς (to use the words of *Tusanus* sometimes professor at *Paris*, who translated into Greek again, that part of the Book which concerns man and Wife, the Originall being lost, and onely a Latine translation of one *Arrhetinus* left) And very good reason you will say there is, for *her* to be excus'd from labour abroad, that must keep so close at home, and yet *travell* too: which close confinement made *Medea* thus bemoan the Wives condition. *If any thing grieve her* (saith he) *she has no more company to make known her grief unto, than* μίαν ἀψυχὸν, *her own poor soul: And whereas they object that the husband goes to War, and does this and that, I for my part,* saies she

[a] τρὶς ἂν, παρ' ἀσπίδα
Στῆναι δι' αὐ, μᾶλλον ἢ τεκεῖν ἅπαξ.
— Three times to bear a shield
Thrice better do it think, than once to bear a child.

[a] Eurip. in Med. v. 244. to 251.

And

And yet at home too, the liberty of the Wife was wont to be more or leſſe, according to her Fathers liberality in her Portion; and therefore *Hermione* told *Andromache* that in this ſhe came *behind* her, though ſhe were otherwiſe the firſt Wife: *my Father* (ſaies ſhe) *ſent me hither in a liberal manner.*

a Eurip. Androm. v. 153. a Πολλοῖς σὺν ἐσθλοῖς, ὡς ἐλευθέρως ὁμοῦ.

With many a good thing. That having been free of my hand, I might be free of my tongue too: Only you that brought nothing with you muſt goe out of doores. And *ſhe that cannot pay, muſt be ſure to pray.* This argument of hers, her waiting maid afterward *bandy'd* back to her again, to put her out of her fear that her Husband would put her away. *For* (ſaies ſhe) *he did not take you as a Captive, or ſo, but* b ζῶν πολλοῖς ἐσθλοῖσι, *he had ſomething with on.*

Ib. v. 878.

CAP. XIII.

De Mulierum honeſtioribus opificiis.

THe employments moſt uſuall and leaſt diſhonourable were ſeeing things handſome and neat in the houſe, and providing for the workemen abroad, take it in *Electras* own words:

c τ' ἐν δόμοις δ' ἡμᾶς χρεὼν
ἐξεργαπτίζειν, εἰσίοντας δ' ἐσθῆτα, &c.

c Eurip. Elect. v. 75.

or elſe working at any kind of Lanifice, either at d ξαίνειν the cozing (ſhall I ſay) or the carding of the Wool? or στημονεῖσθαι, when they went to ſpinne out the στήμων or *ſtamen*; and διάζεσθαι (as they call'd it) to divide it, and part it from the reſt of the Wooll; or laſt of all at ὑφαντικὴ the Weaving, and joyning the στήμονες together with the help of the κερκὶς, (the *pecten* or the ſley like a comb) and the ἀγνύθες, or the λᾶες, ſmooth ſtones (like our ſmooth lace-ſticks, that they might not wear) which hung at the end of the threads. The poſture in Weaving was more anciently a ſtanding, but at length (when they were weary) it came to ſitting (with the Romans at leaſt) excepting when they made plaine worke

d I. Poll. 7. c. 10.

a Serv. ad Aen. 8

worke, *recta* as the Latines call'd it, down *right* with one thred a croſſe and no more, for there was ποικιλτικὴ too, and a great deal of variety in ſome workes, as well as ſeveral ſorts of workes in the trade; which was the cauſe why *b Jon* in *Euripides* when *Creüſa* told him of a Bearing cloth of her own Weaving askt her of what ſort of making it was. b V. 14. 18.

Πρὸς τί; πολλὰ παρθένων ὑφάσματα.

Unleſſe you will confine this ποικίλματα to the Virgins (as you may ſeem to have cauſe from the words but now produc'd) and the Wives and Mothers (or their ſervants for them) to the plainer work. As it is ſaid, they were wont to be among the Romans, for *rectas parentes boni ominis causâ liberis confici curabant*, ſaies *Feſtus* the parents among them would make their Children none but *plain Cloathes*, to ſhew they muſt uſe themſelves to *plain dealing*. And ſeeing weaving was a worke well beſeeming the better ſort (as appeares in *Creüſa* the daughter of no worſe man than *Erictheus* a King of *Athens*, and that noble Lady *Penelope*) I cannot but wonder at *Electra*, if ſhe have put it among her complaints in that verſe

Αὐτὰ δ' ἐμὲ στυγοῦσα χαλκέως πάλας.

That ſhe was kept to weaving. For (it may be) her complaint was rather that ſhe could not be her own Woman, and weave for her ſelfe, but muſt be ſtill winning and never wearing, and ſtarve in the Cooks ſhop. I muſt tell her thus much from *a Ariſtotle*, if ſhe liv'd in a ſtate of levelling Democracy, though ſhe were a married Woman (as ſhe was but πολυχείρου καὶ πένητος) that or any work elſe would have been thought too much to little purpoſe. For ſaies he in ſuch a caſe, τοῖς ἐπὶ ἔργοις ἀνάγκη χρῆσθαι τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν παῖδα ἀπονοσκολέστοις διὰ τὸν ἀπορίαν, ſhe muſt be forc'd to do things her ſelfe for want of Servants, and ſo there could be no ſuch thing at all as *Gynæconomy*, which might give the Wife any priviledge at all. a Polit. l. 6. c. 8. 143.

CAP. XIV.

De Uxorum & Filiarum Otiorum.

NOw the Wives beſides their γυναικωνίτις, (their Bed-chamber ſhall I call it, or their Attiring room, or their Dining-room, Juſt as the men had their ἀνδρῶνες) had their [b] θάλαμον ἐσω too, to work in, as the Virgins had their παρθενῶνας to play in, for I fear me, *vuides chambers ſont dames folles* and *Agamemnon* is of my mind.

[b] Poll. l. 1. c. 8.

[c] Eurip. Iphig. in Aul. v. 737.

Καὶ πῶς γ' ἐν οἴκοις μὴ μόνας εἶναι κόρας.

That Maids *at home* ſhould not be left alone.

Tis true they were kept from *gadding abroad*. Inſomuch that a man would think they had Sentinels ſet at their Chamber-doores, by the words immediately following the former,

Ὀχυρώσεις παρθενῶνας φρουρὸν ἢ κύνας.

And if their Daughters, not yet *ſhut* faſt in Wedlock, were kept ſo in ſafe cuſtody, and as it were in Priſon (for which their οἰήσεις, things which their Parents gave them to keep them quiet, was a ſmall amends) what ſtrong guards think you would they put upon their Wives, when they *ty'd them up* as good as ever any King in *Epirus* had to keep his daughter, if we may believe the complaint of one of their Women, in one of their [a] Poets:

[a] Ariſtoph. in Theſmoph.

Γυναικὶ δ' ἐστὶν οὐδὲν ἀσφαλέστερον
Σανίδος παχείας, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἐν μέσῳ
Τρυπῶσα πολλὰς, ἢ παρεισμὸς ἐγχέλυς
Τρόπον τινὰ μοιχοῖς κύων.

—beſides the ſtaies
Upon the Womens Chambers, barres they lay,
To make us ſtay; nay more, their Maſtive curs
They keep to fright adulterers away.

No wonder then if the Houſe-keepers of Athens, were οἰκουροὶ Houſe-dogs (as we call them) or *Keep-houſes*, when it was ſo hard a matter to get abroad, if it were for nothing but the trouble and the charges. In which ſenſe you may well take

take that of the same Poët in *Lysistrate*: γυναικῶν ἔξοδος. For if at any time they got forth (as a great many of them were φιλέξοδοι, of a gadding Gossiping humour) they must be sure to have the attendance of Maides, and their γυναικεῖα σκεύη, all the ornaments that belong'd to the Women about them: and if they were found defective herein, there were γυναικονόμοι (as they call'd them) officers of purpose, who had power to impose a mulct upon them for it, and the mulct was *a* posted up upon a certain plane-tree, which they had in the *Ceramicus* for every one to read. But what do I talk of *going*, when as Fathers and Husbands, were so hard or so jealous, as not to suffer their Wives and Daughters so much as to *look* abroad, or if they were suffer'd by them, they should be sure to suffer themselves from others in their good name, as if they were wanton and the like. Hence it was that *Hermione's* waiting maid took up her Mistress so short, when she went forth at doors in a passion.

a Poll. l. 8. c. 10.

b Αλλ' εἴσιθ' εἴσω, μηδὲ φαντάζου δόμων
Πάροιθε· μή σ' ἀκούσω λέξας.
Πέδαν μολόντων δ' ἐμφρόνως, τέκνον.
But, pray, get in, and shew not thus your self.
Before the house, &c.

b Eurip. in Androm. v. 876.

Where, I dare not say, the translator was *Phantastick*, to render φαντάζου, *imagineris*: but what ever he saies, I cannot but imagine it fit for my purpose. Nay looking out at a window, was almost as bad as looking out at doore; Κάτ' ἐκ θυρίδων περικύπτουσιν (as the Women complain in *Thesmophoriazusæ** where you may read more of the grievances) if they did but *peep* out, they would be thought to do it, as other Women us'd to do; and to draw in their head again, the better to draw out the affection of the beholder. Nay farther yet I fear me, some of the Daughters had scarce the liberty to goe out of one room into another, for so it was with *Antigone*, when she went up to the top of the house to view the Army, as may well be conjectured by the words of her *Pedagogue* (a Tutor, such as to whom they committed the bring-

* Aristoph.

ing up, of their Children, Maids or Boyes.)

Eurip Phœniss. v. 85. Ἐπεὶ σε μήτης παρθενῶνας ἐκλιποῦσ᾽
Μεθῆκε.

Whether the Wives could change their Chambers without *leave*, I know not: I believe they could hardly do it without *company*, and the attendance of their Maids, as if they were going abroad: for so I remember *Penelope* went up to her Chamber, as *Homer* saies;

Οὐδ᾽ οἵη ἄμμα τῇ γε κιὼν μετὰ πολλοὶ ἵποντο.

The Womans own private chamber, *Gynaconitis*, *Gynaconites*, or *Gynecon*, (call it what you will) was (saith *Didymus*) διῶρος & two stories high, like a nest, to make it the harder to climbe up to them: for to tell you in his words) ἀνὰ δύο χαῦλοι γυναικῶνες τοῦ δαιδάλου κατεσκεύαζον ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀνωτάτω. The people of ancient times, built their ὑπερῶα their upper Chamber for the nonce: Ὠα and ὠΐα they called them then, insomuch that *Helena* having been alwaies close bred up in such a Chamber, is thought by some to be said to be hatcht of an Egge, either from the *ovall* fashion of the Roome, or the like signification of the name in the Greek. Whether they went up by the Ladder, or a pair of stairs, tis not so easie to determine, as it was to get up; for when I call to mind what adoe the *Pædagogue* (whom I lastly mention'd) had to help up his pupil by the hand, I am apt to think that κλῖμαξ from the *Parthenon*, and the other to *Gynæcon*, to have been a ladder, and not a staire-case: hear how she cries for help:

Ὀρεγε χεῖρ᾽, ὄρεγε μεγίστην
Νῦν χεῖρ᾽ ἀπὸ κλιμάκων
Πόδα θ᾽ ἵχνος ἐπαυτέλλων.

Such a κλῖμαξ had *Penelope* in *Homer*, but no such need of help, for Κλῖμακα δ᾽ ὑψηλὴν κατεβήσατο οἷο δόμοιο.

Now a Woman if she went about any work that requir'd expedition, her fashion was ἀναζώσασθαι as *Theocritus* saies, to be *nuda genu*, to pin up her coat to her knees, but no farther, for fear of being taken for a doxie. Such a one as in *Hesiod* is called γυνὴ πυγοστόλος, me thinks not so well

Id. 14.

rendred.

rendred *nates ornatæ*, as * *ad-nates succinctæ*, from the *stola*, too short to become the modesty of a Woman, or the use of the word among the Latins. I might here take occasion to speak a great deal of their apparrel, and the other many ornaments which they used about their heads, their necks, their ears, their arms, and their fingers, and twenty other sorts of this kind, but because there has been promised a draught thereof from a pen able to do it, I think it better to hold my hands. Besides, I am of *J. Pollux* * his mind in this, that for a good many of those names which we find in Authors, where they speak of this kind of things, ὁ ῥᾴδιον τὰς ἐσθῆτας συνιδεῖν, διὰ τὸ μηδὲ σαφὲς εἶναι τοῦ ὀνόματος, εἰ παίζοντες, εἴτε σπουδάζοντες χρῶνται τοῖς ὀνόμασι, 'tis hard to know what fashion the *things* were of; because it is hard to tell whether the Author be in jest or in earnest in the *names*.

* ἀναστατυγμένη.

L. 5. c. 22.

CAP. XV.

De Adulterio.

IF a man had plow'd in another Mans ground, though not as a *Machus manifestarius*, * but by enticements, and in a clanculer way, and were taken ἐπ' ἔργῳ (as they call'd it) *in the fact*; it was counted so much the worse, and he that found him, might abuse him as much as he pleas'd: yea & kill him too, if the Cuckold did desire it, and no doubt, but sometimes he had *hay in his hornes*.) If the fellow had no mind to meddle with him himself, he might have him before the *Thesmothetæ*, and cause him to be punished at the pleasure of the [a] Judges. The ordinary manner of punishing an adulterer, has as little modesty as the crime it self. It was called either πυγισμὸς or ῥαφανίδωσις *synecdochically* the part for the whole; for having pluckt off the hair of his privities, they threw hot ashes in the place, and thrust up a Raddish or a Mullet into his fundament; according to that of *Juvenal*, *Quosdam mechos & mugilis intrat*: Insomuch that ever after he was disgracefully call'd εὐρύπρωκτος. A punishment little enough for so great a vice, so great I say, that *Solon* is thought to have tollerated the publick use of

* Plutarch. in Bacchid.

[a] Poll. c. 9.

harlots, (as I formerly told you) of purpose to prevent it. And for the Woman, having thus violated the Lawes of the Gods (or the men rather, for *they* were better) she was not onely forbid to go to the Temples, but if she went any where else with the ornaments and attire, which other Women wore, it was lawful for any that met her to take them, and tear them; and if her Husband lay with her after, he was branded for Ἀλιτρός, *a base companion*. On the other side, if the women were forc'd, and openly abus'd, the Adulterers punishment then was no more than a *fine*. And you will not so much wonder at this manner of dealing with him, if you consider how the others commit Adultery with the mind too, as well as with the body of the Woman; and is so much the more dangerous of the two, as he that workes by a Mine, or can get in a private way, than he that must break the door. For proof whereof, if the Adultery of *Ægisthus* and *Clytemnestra*, which proceeded to the death of *Agamemnon* be not sufficient, I refer you to that practise of *Sejanus*; who having one a time receiv'd an affront from *Drusus*, had no other way to be reveng'd. *Cunctis tentanti* (saies * *Tacitus*) *promptissimum visum ad uxorem ejus Liviam convertere: hanc, ut amore incensus, adulterio pellexit, ad conjugii spem, consortium Regni, & necem mariti impulit.* In like manner, if a Man had ravisht a young Woman, (so she were free born) his [b] punishment was a fine, *viz.* a thousand *Drachmæ*: but then besides that, he was to marry her too (unless it could be made appear she had taken something of him in consideration) which puts me in mind of a story of the *Adessenian* in *Pausanias*, who to compell *Aristodemus* to give him his Daughter to wife, pleaded that he had brought her with child: whereupon he to evidence the contrary, kil'd her with his own hand, and cut up her belly worse than *Virginius*. There was a time when a ravisher of a Virgin was to be ston'd shall I say, or press'd to death, for they called such a punishment λᾶας καὶ χώρα, as some upon these words of *Homer*,

Λᾶάν τοι καὶ χώρα κακὸν ἔπος ἔμμεναι ἔργας.

* L. 4. Annal.

[b] Isaus pro Pyrrh.

LIBER QVINTVS.

CAP. I.

De Puerperarum Religione, &c.

THE *Athenians* (saies *Plutarch* in his *Marriage-exhortations*) had three sacred plowings. One in the *Sciron*, another in the *Raria*, and another called *Bucygion*: but yet, saies he, ἡ πάντων ἱερώτατος ὅταν ὁ γαμῶν σπείρῃ, καὶ ἀρότῳ ἐπὶ παίδων τέκνωσιν, the plowing for Children is the best Husbandry. In that he calls it *plowing* (a word very suitable to a *Conjugal* condition) he agrees with the expressions commonly used by the Greeks of χθών, and Ἄρουρα, and Αὔλαξ, concerning the Women. For as* *Aristotle* saies in his *Politicks*, ἀναλαμβάνοντα σαφέστατα τὸ γινόμενον ἐκ ἐχέτης, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ φυόμενον ἐκ γῆς: as also with the use of the word ἄρουν for to *beget*, as you have in *Sophocles* his *Oedipus Tyrannus* ἠρόθη, & in his *Antigone* ἀρώσουσι in the same sense. So *Aristaenetus*‡ in one of his Epistles (speaking of a Woman to be Married) saies ἐπ' ἀρότῳ παίδων. And *Aeschylus* hath an *Epigram* of purpose upon Ἔρως Ἀροτήρ. The Latin word *Sator* answers very well to it, and so would *Insitor* to the word βλάστη a bud, and βλαστάνειν, so commonly used in *Sophocles*, and other Authors in the same sense. Now for a Woman with child, it was sometime the custome for about forty daies before her time, to abstain from going to the Temples, and pray at home. But then *Aristotle's*† advice could not be followed, who would have a Law made to compell Women with child, to go every day in Pilgrimage a certain journey, to do service to one or other of the Gods of Generation, ἵνα μὴ λαγχάνωσι τὴν περὶ τὸ γένεσιν ἡμέραν, and his reason was, that they might not βαθυμεῖν grow *sluggy* by sitting still, but by this kind of *travelling* pre-

* L. 7. c. 17.

‡ L. 1. Ep. 18.

† Loco prædicto.

pare

pare their body for a worſe, as *Plutarch* ſaies, *Lycurgus* cauſed the Maids of *Sparta* to uſe the exerciſes of wraſtling, and coyting, and ſhooting, and the like, that by this meanes having confirm'd their own health and ſtrength, they might make the ſtronger Children, and might the better ἀγωνίζοιντο πρὸς τὰς ὠδῖνας, *wreſtle* with the *throwes*. The principal God whom they pray'd unto, eſpecially in the time of travell was *Diana*, called by them Εἰλείθυια ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλθεῖν, from the readineſſe to come to the Woman at a call, or a *crying out*.

[a] Horat. Carm. Sæc.
--*Aperire portus*[a]
Lenis Ilithyia.--

So that from the office of a Hand-woman, and a handyneſſe or *dexterity*, and willingneſſe to perform, ſhe was worſhipped by the *Romans* under the name of *Egeria*, *quoniam putarent facilè Conceptam alvum egere*, ſaies *Feſtus*, and ſometimes under the name of *Facilina*.

[b] Sil. Ital.
—*Faciline templa Diana*.[b]

Either a *face*, becauſe ſhe was painted with a Torch in her hand, (as if ſhe did but *hold the Candle* to it) and ſo was *Ilithyia* by the *Greeks*, ὅτι γυναῖξιν ἐν ὥρᾳ πῦρ εἰσὶν αἱ ὠδῖνες, (ſaies *Pauſanias in Arcadicis*) becauſe the paines of Travell are ſo *hot*: or elſe from *facilis*, *eaſie and without difficulty to be won*.

[c] Ovid. Faſt. l. 2.
—*Gravidis facilis Lucina puellis*.[c]

being likewiſe for the ſame reaſon called by the Greeks προδρομία: as by *Orpheus*, by whom ſhe is alſo termed Εἰλειθυίης Σώτειρα, and ἀδῖνων Ἐπάγωγος, and Ὠκυλοχεία, becauſe ſhe ſtood ſtill ready as it were *at the door*; and was always at *hand* to do the worke of a *hand woman—tu voto parturientis ades*. Or laſtly from *facilis eaſie, and without pain*, becauſe ſhe gave the woman *facilem partum*, as he ſaies.

Ut ſolvat partus molliter illa ſuos.

For the ſame cauſe, they gave her alſo the title of Γενεθλίη, as the Latines did that of *Genitalis*.

Sive tu Lucina probas vocari,
Seu Genitalis.

To this purpoſe I remember a jeſt related by *Cicero* of one *Timæus*,

Timæus, made upon the burning of her Temple at *Ephesus* neer about the time that *Alexander* was born: *Non esse mirandum, quòd Diana occupata in adjuvandâ Olympiâ Alexandro gravidâ domo abesset*: that it was no wonder, *because Diana was taken up in helping Olympia*. And yet this jest (as *dry* as it is) *Plutarch* is so far from liking, that he saies it was *cold* enough to have extinguisht those flames. Last of all she was also called φωσφόρος, *quasi* ἡ εἰς τὸ φῶς ἀλάσεως τῶν ἐμβρύων ἔρουσα, saies the *a Scholiast*, as much as to say *Lucifera* or *Lucina*. For by this name she was most of all adored by the Romans soo, according to that of *Ovid*:

Dicite, tu nobis lucem, Lucina, dedisti:
Dicite, tu voto parturientis ades.

Now this *Lucina* (saith *b Cicero* was nothing but the Moon: *Luna à lucendo nominata est, eadem est enim Lucina*. And the Moon being (as *Varro* saith) *nascentium dux*, was therefore worshipped by the women in travel, *quòd partus maturescant septem aut nonnunquam novem Lunæ cursibus*: or because the Moon by the *filling* and opening moisture of her influence *graviditates & partus affert, maturitatesque gignendi*, as the *Orator* said in the same place. If you chance to meet with a *Plural number*, as you have in *Homer* —μογοστόκοι Εἰλειθυίαι, and in *Aristotle* διὰς τοὺς τοκετοὺς, &c. you may take it to be in reference onely to several names of one and the same *Diana*. and in especial manner to those three, *viz. Lucina* in Heaven, *Diana* above ground, and *Proserpina* beneath, in regard to which the Women among the Latins used to call her *Diva triformis*, in their prayers at the time of Child bearing,

Quæ laborantes utero puellas
Ter vocata audis, adimisque letho
Diva triformis.

Diana should be a Gentle-woman by the number of her names. *Diana*, I said; for that was the ground, or the principal name: all the other names seem to be but the descant, or so many *Epithetes*, and *Surnames* upon it. So in *Euripides* his *Hippolytus* you have

Τὰν δ' ἄλοχον Οὐρανίαν

a Aristo. h. in Lucift.

b L. 2. de Nat. Deor.

c L. 4. de lig. Lat.

Τέξων μεδίστωρ
Ἄρτεμιν,

In another Tragedy, Παῖδ' Ἄρτεμιν λοχείαν: and

—φωσφόρῳ Διὸς θυγατρὶ. Ἄρτεμις or *Diana* ſtands ſtill the ſubſtantive, and all the reſt hang like ſo many Adjectives. Beſides theſe to the Moon, they talke of other Sacrifices of they know not whom themſelves, whom they worſhipped by the name of Τεττιγόνων, *Cottus*, *Gyges*, and *Briareus* ſay ſome. So many winds ſays one *a* (that which is thought to be meant by the Gyants in the Fables) But what have women to do with the Wind? it can blow *them* no good, but a *Tympany*; and ſo puff them up with the conceit of a Child. *Orpheus* calls them by the name of *Amalcides*, *Protoclias*, and *Phoroereus*; and *Philochorus* ſaies, they were the three firſt men that were begotten. And here I muſt tell you of ſomewhat to be done by the Husband too, for he was to ſacrifice to the Nymphs, and to pray to them then for the bringing forth of the child, as he was afterwards to give them thanks for bringing it up. And thus much I conjecture by thoſe words of *Oreſtes*, when one told him that he ſaw *Ægyſthus* ſacrificing to the Nymphs.

a Etymol. Dition.

a Eurip. Elect. v. 616.

a Τεκοῦσα παῖδα, ἢ τροφῷ μέλλουσα τόκῳ;
For breeding was it, or for bringing forth?

CAP. II.

De puerperio, ſive ſacris maſculo.

FOR the place where they lay in whether it were a Chamber kept of purpoſe for that uſe I cannot tell, neither durſt I conclude as much by the λόχοι θαλάμων in *b Euripides*, where ſpeaking of *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*, he ſaies.

b In Bacch. v. 96.

b Λοχίοις δ' αὐτίκα τὸν
Ἄνθεσι θάλλουσαις

At the time of travel, they were wont to take *Palm* branches and hold them in their hands, as thinking they had a vertue either to *conquer* the pain, (for a Palme branch was a token

of

of *Conquest*) or to make them *bear up* under the burthen the better, (for no weight will make a palm-branch go downward) according to that of *Theognis*:

——διὰ τῆτα φέρω ἄνω
Φοίνικος ἴσα δὴν χεῖρι ἐφαλλόμενον.

I do not read that ever before travel they stood in fear of such things as *Incubi*, and *Fauni*, and *Sylvani*, as the Romans did, who (as St. *Austin* saies) suppos'd those Hobgoblins *improbos sæpe extitisse mulieribus, & earum appetisse, ac peregisse concubitus*. Or that after the delivery, they kept three men of purpose to sit up all night, one with an Axe, and another with a Pestle, and another with a Broom, cutting, and beating, and sweeping at the thresholds to keep *a Sylvanus* off her: I hope they had more wit. When the Woman was delivered, if it happened to be a Male, then what joy and confidence of the *building* of their house? (as the Hebrew phrase is) for *partum uiri fundavit familiam*, saies * *Apuleius*, such a one they accounted as a *Pillar* thereof Κίονα δόμων, saies *Lycophron* of *Hector*, and Τρεῖς ἄμαχον κίονα, saies *Pindar* of the same. *Iphigenia* her selfe, when she dream't of the fall of a house, could interpret the Pillars for so many Sons. For saies she,

Στύλοι γὰρ οἶκων εἰσὶ παῖδες ἄρσενες.

The Males are Pillars of a Family.

And very good reason the men should bear the name of the Pillars of the house, if the Pillars of the house can beare the name and the figures of the men. As they do many of them to this day. *Names* they made choice of the best, such as Ἄτλαντες among the Greeks, and *Telemones* among the Latins; but indeed the *figure* was commonly of the worst, with a bunch back, bowing under the weight, and therefore they were called *Gibbosi*, according to that in *Martial*.

Ridetur Atlas cum Compare Gibbo,

Besides in ancient time, 'twas an ordinary thing to erect a Pillar in stead of a *Statue*, or the Image of a man.

[a] D. Civ. Dei l. 15. c. 22.

[a] Ibid. 6. c. 9.

* L. 10. Met.

CAP. III.

De Infantibus lavandis & ungendis.

THE Child ſo ſoon as it was borne, was waſht in Water (or elſe in Wine, if they follow'd the *Lacedæmonian* faſhion, and deſir'd to *prove*, ſhall I ſay, or to *improve* the ſtrength of the Infant.) Of this waſhing mention is made in *Plautus* his *Amphytrion* thus,

Poſtquam peperit pueros, lavare juſſit, nos occepimus.
Sed puer ille quem ego lavi, ut magnus eſt & multum valet!

a Plut. on Lycurg.

And ſo likewiſe in *Lycophron* (for I think it may be meant of the child, as well as the Mother) where he ſpeaks of *Priamus* his putting to death the Infant *Munippus* (as he did his Mother *Cilla* rather than *Hecuba* her ſiſter, and her ſonne *Alexander*) though the Oracle named no body, but only bid him kill πῶν πεῦσιν ἢ τὴν γυναῖκ', the Mother and the Child, he did it ſaies he.

Πεῦσιν ἐκ λοχείας γὰρ χυτλώσας βρέφος.

from which verſe (after I have ſtarted the queſtion how he came to be called *Munippus*, if he liv'd not long enough to be named) I have occaſion given to tell you more of this matter. For the Scholiaſt notes upon the word χυτλώσας, that after they had waſht the body with Water (heated I ſuppoſe it was: and uſed onely for the cleanſing of the body) they anointed it with oyle, kept in a χύτλον, or a veſſell ſo called, which they had for that purpoſe. The reaſon I believe to be the ſame, for which they did it at other times upon the elder ſort, *viz.* ἵνα οἱ πόροι ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος ἀνοιχθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ συσταλῶσιν, (as the a Scholiaſt hath it) to cloſe up the pores againe, after they had been open'd by the hot water, and to keep out the cold. This thing of anointing, was ſo conſtantly uſed juſt after the waſhing, that you ſhall have the word χυτλᾶσθαι, ſometimes uſed to ſignifie the ſame, as it is in *Callimachus* his *Hymne* upon *Jupiter*.

a In Ariſtoph. Plut.

—ink

— ἐπὶ μήτρᾳ μεγάλᾳ ἀνθήσας κάλυκα
Διονύσῳ δίζηθ' ἱερὸν ἀκρόδρυον τέκνον
Λύματα χρῄζων.

In alluſion to this χρῄζων [b] *Nonnus* calls the birth of *Bacchus* ἀχλύματον λαχέσιν. For coming from ſo cleane a place as *Jupiters* thigh, he had no great need of waſhing. [b] L. 9. Dionyſ.

CAP. IV.

De Cunabulis, &c.

THE Child being waſhed, it was wrap'd in a cloath Woven for the purpoſe by the mother in the time of her Virginity, as may be conjectured by that which *Creüſa* made for *Ion*. In this cloath the *Erechthida* wrought the image of the *Gorgon*, and the Snakes of her head, as it was in *Minerva's Ægis*; by the help whereof *Perſeus* had cut it off. Beſides the likeneſſe of two Dragons drawn in gold, by *Minerva's* own command, and in memory of *Erichthonius*: who being born of nothing but *Vulcan's* ſeed ſpilt on the ground in forcing of the goddeſſe, and having feet like a Dragon was expoſed and committed by her, to the cuſtody of two vigilant Dragons.

Νόμος πάις ὅτι, θρέψαι τε χρυσηλάτοις
Τέκνον πτύχεσι. Furip. in Ion v. 25. & 14. 27.

Saies the Poët: and from thence came the cuſtome I ſpeake of. And yet perhaps neither thoſe Dragons, nor the others in imitation of them, were any thing elſe but emblems uſed by the authors to expreſſe the narrow and watchful care that was, or ought to be had in the breeding of the child, for ſo they are like to have been aſſigned for keepers of other things too; as of the apples of the *Heſperides* &c. & that becauſe of their quickneſs of ſight, according to *Feſtus*: *Dracones dicti ἀπὸ τοῦ δέρκεσθαι, quod ſint acerrimi: eâmque fabulam habebant vulgatam, aciem quâ ex causâ draconibus ſolet deſcribi circa aurea mala fuiſſe versam.* Being wrapt in the cloth inſtead of being put in a cradle, it was either layd upon

upon a *Clypeum*, as an omen of fortitude in time of Warre; (& thus was *Hercules* himſelf, and the *Lacedemonians* generally uſed; thus alſo the **Celtæ* uſed the children when they threw them into the *Rhene*.) or elſe upon a *Vannum vel Ventilabrum quod alimentorum copiæ & benitatis Symbolum conjectabant*, ſaies *Rhodiginus*, as an omen of peace and plenty.

Strabo. l. 7.

CHAP. V.

De infantis geſtatione circa focum, & de nominis impoſitione.

WHen the child was five dayes old, they took it and carried it about the hearth running: perchance to initiate him to the *Lares*, and make him one of the houſe. At the ſame time the cuſtome was for the Midwives to waſh their hands. Now in token of *joy* for having a child, the Parents bedecked their houſe with Garlands: and in *congratulation* the kinred that intended to be at the *naming feaſt* ſent their δεκάτια βόσια (as *Æſchylus* cals them in *Eumenides*) before, as they have uſed to do with us at *Chriſtenings*. The things which they ſent, were commonly *Polypodes*, and *Sepiæ*, whether as rarities, or for what reaſon, I am yet to ſeek. The verſes of *Enbulus* cited by *Athenæus* c. 2. ſpeaks as if thoſe things were not kept till the feaſt, but us'd the ſame day, as likewiſe Doves, and Thruſhes and coleworts with oyle, and toſted pieces of *Cherſoneſus Cheeſe*, and I know not what: the whole ſolemnity of the day is called Αμφιδρόμια; and ſo is the *Genius*, or γενεθλιος δαὶμων, παρὰ Αμφιδρόμια, from the running about the hearth (which it ſeems was plac'd in the midſt of the roome) or as wee may call it, *Dancing about our cold fire*, for we read of no more but the hearth: but ſurely there muſt be a fire, for *Heſychius* ſaies, thoſe that carried the child muſt be naked. The naming feaſt which I mention'd, was kept upon the ſeventh day after the Birth, ſaies *Ariſtotle*: and his reaſon is, becauſe that day was obſerv'd to be very critical to moſt things, τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν κρισίμων ἐν τῇ ἑβδόμῃ; and therefore, ſaies he, when that day comes, if

*L. 7. de. Hiſt. An.

if they perceived the child to be well, *then* they presently gave it a name, ὡς πιθανὸν μᾶλλον τῇ τύχῃ, as presuming it would continue so. But (with reverence be it spoken) I rather believe it to have been upon the tenth day (or the tenth *night* rather) because the feast which they kept was called Δεκάτη, and those which then sacrific'd (for that was to be done first) were said δεκάτην θύειν, or δεκάτην ἱστιᾶσαι: & at the same feast (saies *Suidas*) were the kinred wont to meet all together, to be witnesses (as we call it) to the naming of the child, after the manner of the Romans at the *Nominalia*. Again, besides the authority of a Scholiast upon the word Δεκάτη (in *Avibus Aristophanis*,) I have the plaine testimony of the Poët himselfe in the same Comedy in another place; where he brings in *Pisthetærus* thus speaking of Athens, in an allusion to the custome

Οὐκ ἀρτίως δῆτ' τὴν δεκάτην τοῦτον ἐγὼ
Καὶ τὴν τρίτην' ὥσπερ παιδίῳ νῦν δὴ θύμεν.

Now a Father might give what name he pleas'd to any of his children: but usually the eldest sonne was called by the name of the Grandfather. I cannot say that they kept this name and had no more: for many times they chang'd their name, as they chang'd their condition. Thus the daughter of *Proteus* when she came to be elder and wiser, assumed the name of *Theonoe*; * thus *Leucippe* when she was brought, was new nam'd *Lacæna*; and *Ismenias*, *Atraces* when he became enslav'd. And indeed for the Servants, it was an ordinary thing to give up their names, and all to their Masters, who presently gave them new, such as they thought fit. Either from the Country, ὁ Σῦρος, or the colour and complexion, as Ξανθίας or ὁ Μυῶπος, or some good quality in him, as ὁ Φιλόδεσπος, and ὁ Φίλων, or else from the day or the time whereon they bought him, as ὁ Νεομηνίας. At Rome the Master gave them a name of their owne: but 'twas when they set them free, and so a new name was a token of liberty too: or of something better, as of an adoption, (when the adopters name was the better of the two) or some other good fortune: which made him in *Lucian* when an Estate fell to him,

to

a Eust. in Il 5.

Eur. Hel v 13.
* Achil Tat l. 5.
Eustat. l. 9.

Phot. Biblioth. Cod. 27. 9.

See Rev. 2. 17.

to change his name from *Simon* to *Simonides*: and that they took new names when they came to be made Kings; as among the *Persians* &c. or Gods, as every where besides, which appears in those names of *Palæmon* and *Quirinus*, and a great many more.

CAP. VI.

De Puerperarum Lustrationibus.

THE Mother after her delivery (though some say it was done after the first nights lying with her Husband) hung up her *Zona* to *Diana* Λυζώνη, (*Cinxia* you may call her in latine) and her clothes too (saies *Callimachus*) to *Diana* Χιτώνη. Untill she were purified, she was as carefully shun'd, as any Woman of the Jewes, insomuch that reckoning her among the μιάσματα they loathed to goe into the house where she lay, as much as if she had layen for dead: or if they had happened to goe in unwittingly or by constraint, when they came forth again, they would be sure to wash; whence that of *Diog: Laertius* in the life of *Pythagoras*, ἀπὸ τε πάντα ἐχεῖς ἐμιάνθη πολὺς: which puts me in mind of *Iphigenia* in *Euripides*; when bemoaning the condition of *Orestes*, whom the *Scythians* designed for a Sacrifice to *Diana*, she speak her mind so plainly in relation to her curiousnesse, to have no body come neer her, that came from a Woman in Child-bed, or a slaughter, or a funeral, &c. *I defie*. (saies she *the hypocrisie of that Goddesse what ever she be, that shall take delight in the murthering of men, and yet notwithstanding out of puritie, forsooth shall forbid such & such to come neer the Altars:*

Iphig. in Taur. v. 380.

—α θεσπῶν μ' ἦν πτερὸς ἀίσσεται φόνε
Ἢ ἐκ λοχείας ἤπτεται ἢ τάφου χερῖν,
Βωμῶν ἀπείργει, μυσαρὸν ὡς ἡγουμένη.

A saying so cutting to the folly of the best of the Heathen Theology, that it would have sounded very well from the mouth of a Christian. For *Thucydides* saies, that the *Athenians*, for fear the holy Isle of Delos should by this means be

Polluted,

polluted, made a law, that no Woman ſhould lie in for child there, but ſhe muſt be remov'd to *Rhenia*, an Iland neer adjoyning. What day ſhe was purified in, I cannot yet determine, and I remember the queſtion put in *Euripides*:

Δεῦρ' ἦλθες ἐπ' εἴσιν ἀγνὰς λοχεύσεις;

Whether it were at the time of the πεντηκόστου, the feaſt that was kept at the forty daies end (for ſo many daies ſhe was to keep in after her delivery, as well as before) or whether it were ἐν δεκάτῃ σελήνῃ παιδὸς, when the child was a *tenne-night* old, (as we ſay a ſeuen-night, counting nothing but the nights: for I do not think it is the tenth *Month*) I doe not well know: but *Electra* ſaies it was ſo,

Δεκάτῃ σελήνῃ παιδὸς ὡς νομίζεται.

Whenſoever the time was, the Woman, after ſhe had waſh'd away her λύματα in the river (as *Rhea* did hers in the river *Lymax* ſo called from * thence) ſhe her ſelfe was to Sacrifice to *Diana*, for helping her to a child: and her Husband to the Nymphes for helping him to ſuch a Wife: or both (if you will) to return their thanks, that the child came in its due time. And this one calls παιδὸς δευτέρου τελεσφόρον δόσιν. It may be in caſe of weakneſs, or if ſhe were ignorant of rites (as ſhe might be at the firſt) another did it for her, as *Clytemneſtra* did for *Electra* upon her requeſt. But indeed it ſhould be the Midwife by right, as *Clytemneſtra* her ſelfe confeſſed,

* Pauſan. in Ach.

Πολλὰς τὰδ' ἔρρων, ἣ σ' ἔλυσ' ἐκ πόνων. Eurip. Electra, 11. 28.

During her lying in, the greateſt part of her food was colewort.

CAP. VII.

De Nutricibus.

THE Nurſes during the time of ſucking, were called τίτθαι (from πίθος the ſame that μαστοὶ the pappes) but after they came to be Weaned (ἀπογαλακτίζωσι) τροφοὶ dry

Nurſes. Now the cuſtome was for the Nurſes (the better to harden the Children *ufu liberioris* * *aeris*, and to make the Nurſes the more neat and cleanly) to be often carrying the children abroad in the waies, and in the ſtreets: and in caſe they ſhould be unquiet, the Scholiaſt upon thoſe words of *Ariſtophanes*,

* Rhodig. ex Plat.

Λήκυθοι χυτρίδιον ἀσαγγίῳ ἐξεσμένον.

Saies, they were wont to have a ſponge full of honey, in a little pot alwaies ready for the purpoſe. Of all Women they counted a *Lacedæmonian* the fitteſt for a Nurſe, (& ſuch a one *Alcibiades* had himſelfe) Or rather indeed the *Athenian* Women were ſo proud, that they counted it a diſparagement to them, to be Nurſes themſelves. And therefore the Woman in *Demoſthenes*, when it was objected to her, that ſhe had ſometimes uſed this baſe imployment, was fain to excuſe it by the neceſſity of the Famine, which was in the City at that time. And ſo likewiſe you ſhall find *Hecuba* in *Euripides* complaining of her unhappineſſe, that ſhe muſt be forced to ſuch an office as this was. When they would *lull* (as we call it) or *lull* a child aſleep, they uſed *lallare* to cry, λαλᾶν, or βαυκανᾶν, to ſing ſongs to it. Their ſongs they called καταβαυκαλήσεις, and ſometimes νήνιαι. (for ſo is *nenia* uſed in the Latine too, as in *Arnobius lib. 7. Somno occupari ne poſſint leves audiendæ ſunt nenia.*) ſuch a kind of ſong is that in *Theocritus*.

Εὕδετ' ἐμαὶ ζώᾳ γλυκερὼ καὶ ἠγιθέοιμον ὕπνον,
Εὕδετ' ἐμαὶ ψυχαί, δὴ δύσκριτα, νύσσα τέκνα.
Ὀλβιοι δοναίζοι δὲ καὶ ὄλβιοι ἔκγονοι εἶεν.

Sleep my little ſoules, &c,

For thus they were wont to καταβαυκᾶν the child, calling it alſo ſometimes ᾠδὴν or ᾠδάριον, or ζωοθρεπτὴν, and the like.

CAP.

CAP. VIII.

De expositione Infantum.

BUT we shall have no need to trouble our selves to get Nurses, if the child either dye of it self, or be *exposed* to dye by the Parents. If it dye in the time of its infancy (before it had teeth, saies *Pliny*) it was to have but a cold burial without any fire, or any funeral sacrifice or solemnity in Mourning or otherwise. As being (in the words of * *Juvenal*) *minor igne Rogi*. Which practice is by *Plutarch* in his *Consolation to his Wife*, produced for an argument, to perswade her not to grieve for the death of her child, saies he, οὐκ ἐξαγαγὼν ἐκ πολυτελείας πανηγυρικῆς οὐδὲ νεκρικῆς. The custom of *exposing* children, which the Greeians call ἀποθέσεις, with the people of ancient times was very usual; it was exercised upon such Children as were lame, or deformed, or defective in any of their Members. We * read indeed that *Moses* was used thus, because he was אשר or a goodly child: but he was rather *hidden* from *Pharaoh*, than *exposed* to the river. This practice was in most places at the pleasure of the parent. But at *Sparta*, I read, that they took better advice for these they had a Committee of purpose called by them Λέσχαι, appointed to examine every childe, whether it were εὐτραφὴς καὶ ἰσχυρὸν *sound*, or not. The places where they exposed them, were sometimes Rivers and Lakes, such as *Moses* was put in by his Mother, and *Romulus* and *Remus* by their Unkle *Æmilius*, sometimes a sinke or a gurter, according to that in *Juvenal*.

—*utraque fapa*
Ad fpurcos deſcripta lacus.

Sometimes a deepppit, such as the *Lacedæmonians* had at *Taygetus* in common for all, sometimes Woods and desert places, such as *Oedipus* had, as *Seneca* saies: *& in alta nemora pabulum miſit feris Avidis*— and sometimes the wide Sea, as *Justin* saies of one *Habides*, (if that be his name,) *Gargaris Habidum nepotem ſuum in mare projici*

* Sat. 6.

* Exod. 7. v. 2.

jici jussit. If a child were expoſed any where upon the Land, after they had ſwathed it, τὸ σπαργάνοις *faſciis*, they put it in an earthen pot. Such a pot ſome would have to be meant by the *Cantharus* in *Terence* his *Andria*.

—verum vidi Cantharum.

Suffarcinatum. As if it were *Suffaſciatum*. Whereas others would have you read it *Cantharam*, for an old Woman of that name, and *ſuffarcinatam*, for as much as *ſuccinctam*. It is ſometimes called ἐκτεθειμένον. as by *Ariſtophanes* in *Ranis*, where he ſpeaks of *Oedipus* thus,

—αὖτ' ὀν γενόμενον
Ἐξέθηκαν ἐς ὄρεσιν—

And ſometime χύτρα, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon the ſame place, whence comes χυτρίζειν *exponere*. What kind of thing that κόφινος was, wherein *Creuſa* expos'd her Baſtard in a rock in the *Acropolis*, or whereof it was made, I cannot ſo well determine. *Euripides* ſaies it was ἄγγος a veſſel, and that *Ion* the child was wrapt up in a skin, or a leather, and put into it, according to that

—ἐσπάσθυξα σὸν τόκον
Ἐλικτὸν ἀντίπτυγος.

Me thinks it might be rendred *area*, and more properly ſo than *Moſes* his תבה can be: for firſt he ſaies there was σὸν ἐλικτὸν skin or leather; roll'd or folded up; ſuch as ſome of our Cheſts have. 2. It was faſten'd or lock'd of one ſide: ἀντίπτυξ from ἀντὶ and πτύσσω, as our trunks are. 3. it was round alſo, and fit to be tumbled as he ſaies,

περιπίπτουσι δὲ ταῖς θυγατράσιν
Καίπερ ἐν ἀντίπτυγος ἐστρόγγυλον κύκλῳ.

And for ἄγγος, that will ſerve well enough for any ſuch thing, as well as *vas*, or a *veſſel*. If the child were expoſed on the Water, it was uſually put in a thing made like a baſket, made of oziers, or bulruſhes, dawb'd and clos'd with ſlime and pitch, ſuch as that we read of in * *Exodus*. But though they thus ſet him *out* to the mercy of fortune; they would be ſure to ſet him *forth* too, in the beſt manner they could, with rings, and jewels, and garlands, and many precious ornaments,

* C. 2. v. 3.

naments, either in a way of mourning, to do as they did to the dead, according to that

——αἰῶ ἐκκομίζουσ' ἀλλοτρίαν χερσὶν
Τέκνον πρόνοιαν, εἰς ὅστις εὑρήσει τύχη. *Eurip. Ion. v. 26.

Or in a way of care and providence, that if it liv'd, and any one happen'd to find it so lying, and would *take it up (as they call it) he might have his τροφεῖα, or ἀνάθεσις, his charges to breed him advanc'd to his hand: and if it dyed, there might be enough for him, that would bestow the paines, to bestow the cost too in the burying, according to that in *Terence.

*Tollerit.

—*cum exponendum do illi, digito annulum*
Detraho, & cum ut una cum puella exponeret
Si moreretur, ne expers partis esset de nostris bonis. *Heauton. Act. 3. Sc. 1.

These παίγνια, or κρεπηδόλια, most commonly were fastned about their necks, and were therefore called περιδέραια, as they were likewise called γραισίσματα, for they were many times, bottles and bells, and such like toyes. (and so you must distinguish betwixt ornaments & markes) because they were for another end yet besides the former, ἵνα μὴ ἀγνοῶνται (saies *one) not to adorn him, but to mark him so as to know him again, and to set the parents name therein, as we use to fasten collars and such like thinks, about the necks of our dogs: and it may be the rattle bels were fastned to find him by the noise, as we do our Hawkes. For you must know, every child that was exposed, was not exposed with this intent to be killed (as some would have *exponere* and *necare* to be little different) for many times they did it to hide it only, out of fear it would be killed, if it were not exposed (as it was with *Moses*:) and sometimes (if it were a Bastard) they put it out of purpose to have some body nurse it, for if she bred it up her selfe, every body would know it. Besides, when they were exposed with that intent, the parents for the most part had not their ends, for none have proved more famous men than such as were exposed, as might be made appear by sundry examples. At the best, exposing in my mind was very hard dealing and therefore the *Thebans* (whom *Ælian* *Dio Chrysost.

commended for their humanity) made a Law to forbid it, and so did the Romans too afterwards: among whom no exposed child could be free of the city. And yet *Aristotle* could afford to prescribe it, ἴσως τὸν μὴ τρέφειν τῶν γιγνομένων τέκνων. But he was then in *Politicks*, and that made him forget his *Physicks*, i. e. his natural affection. Our *putting out* children to Nurse, many times proves little better than exposing. Another way there was of carrying a child into another Country, where it might live in secret, and secure from an enemy, as *Orestes* did *Phocis*, from the rage of *Ægysthus*. And therefore *Sophocles* speaking of his manner of life in his youth calls it χρόνιον ἄβιον; & so you might have called him ἀνεπιδημίαν in the words of *Lycophron*: but enough of exposing. I will proceed to speak of the customs they used in education: onely, because their practice was different according to the birth of the child, it will be necessary to speak a word first of the several sorts of children, in regard of their Birth or Parentage.

CAP. IX.

De Liberorum diversitate.

ACcording to the Scholiast upon *Homer*, there were four sorts of Sonnes. 1. Ὁ γνήσιος, or ἰδιογνὼς, in Latine *Legitimus*, ὁ ἐκ γυναικὸς ἄστης καὶ γαμετῆς, the Son of a married free Woman. 2. ὁ νόθος, *qui Latinè reddi non potest*, saies * *Quintilian*, the son either of a forreign Woman, or a Concubine; such a Son, if his Father were but a private man, might have nothing to do with the name, or the kinred of his Father, διὰ τὸ τὸν νόθον μὴ εἶναι ἀγχιστεύειν saies *Aristophanes*: a and if the case were thus when the *Mother* was a stranger, how just a cause had *Ion* in the Poet, to complain as he did?

* L. 3. c. 6.

a In Avib.

Eurip. v. 591.

Πατρὸς τ' ἄπαντα, κἀπ' ἐμοῦ δ' ὀνομάζεται
Μητρὸς καλὴν δ' ἔχουσα κἀπόπτισμαι,

But if the Father were a Prince, or some great Potentate (if we

we may believe *Eustathius* upon Homer concerning Teucer, who was a *nothus* himself) being well born he must needs be *lawfully* born, and so he was held in as great esteem as any other, and enjoy'd his inheritance. *Consuetudine Regia fuit ut legitimam uxorem non habentes aliquam liberûm captivorum tamen pro legitima haberent, ut liberi ex ipsa nati succederent*, saies *Servius*. Whereas the other must be pop'd along with a *portion* onely of a thousand *drachmæ* at the most: this portion they called προῖξα, which they had in the nature of gifts, like מתנת which *Abraham* gave to the sonns of *his* concubines: it was the value of πέντε μνῶν of five *mina* saies the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes in Avibus*, where I remember how *Hercules* (*Jupiter*'s bastard by *Alcmena* the wife of *Amphytrion*) when *Pisthetærus* had told him, that being *nothus*, by the Law he could not lay claime to the least part of his fathers estate, makes answer thus;

Τί δ' ἐμὲ τοῦτο δεῖ τὸ νόθον λέγειν

Τὸν ποσθίαν;

But what is it to me *nothus*, *I hope there's no law against that*? But the other reply'd again and confuted his answer, by urging *Solons* Law, which ordered indeed, that the *nothi* should μόνων τῶν γνησίων, have the estate shared among them in portions, but it must be onely for default of legitimate children, and not otherwise. This Law is mentioned by *Demosthenes* in his speech περὶ Μειδίου. Thirdly, Servius an *obscure* son, whose Father we know not: in Latine *Spurius* or *Fazonius*, as if he were nothing but *terræ filius*, rising out of the ground like the *wind*, or as if he were *begotten of the wind*, (which we know not from what part of the earth it comes) without the help of a Father, like the eggs which they call ἀνεμίας, made by the hens without the help of the cock. In allusion to which *Lucian* calls *Hesiods* ἀνεμίους υἱεῖς, because they feigned him to be born of *Jove*, but *begot* of the *Wind*, or they knew not whom by. Ὁ ἀνεμίας, ὃν τις ἐκ τοῦ ἀέρος ἀναπεπτηκὼς ἀνεῦρε τὸν πατέρα, saies *Pollux*; A *Son born in Wedlock*, *whose Father no body knows whether married, whom the Husband took for a Child*. To these may be added, first,

b Il. 8.

Harpoc.

Gen. 25. c. 6.

is Cre-

ἐκ γνησίων, not *begotten*, but *made*, or *adopted*: of whom (if need be) I shall speak more anon. Secondly, ἀπελεύθερος *liber*, whose father was ἀπελεύθερος *libertus*, *made free*, and thirdly ἐλευθερόπαις *ingenuus*, the sone of ἐλεύθερος. Any son begotten by a Father in his old age, or the only child, or the onely beloved, they usually called * πλούσιον,

* I. Poll.

CAP. X.

De Liberorum educatione.

IT is said of Greece, that it took the best course in breeding up of children, of any Country in the world. In so much that *Euripides* is therefore thought to have given it the Epithete of κουροτρόφος, by way of excellency above the rest. But how is it then that *Homer* gives the same to *Ithaca*, as *Cicero* does that of a *Nidulus*? In *Aristophanes* his *Thesmophoriazusæ*, the *Præco*, calling upon the Woman, to provide to sacrifice to such and such Gods, among the rest brings in

Καὶ τὴν κουροτρόφον γῆν.

But whether this γῆ here be *Tellus* in general, the Mother and the Nurse of the Creatures, or whether it be only *Tellus Attica*, *Athens* ἄστυ ἄριστον, the best Nurse of the *best*, I know not; but thus much is delivered by *Suidas*, viz. that *Erichthonius* the poor exposed child of *Vulcan*, in a thankfull acknowledgment of his education in that land, first sacrificed to this τὴν κουροτρόφον, and having built an Altar of purpose to her, made a Law that whosoever would sacrifice to any other God, should πρότερον θύειν, do it to her first. Well let us see a little what their manner of education was. They say the Children were usually taught νεῖν γραμμάτων, ἅλλεσθαι, κιθαρίζειν, γράμματα, *first to swim, then dive, and then to read*. Very good method. If the Father was poor, he was brought up to a trade; if able and rich, to Philosophy, Musick, Gymnical exercises, hunting, and the like. If he were brought up to no calling at all, in case his Father should come to poverty, he was not bound to maintain him, as otherwise he was.

* Plut. in Solon.

Many

Many times the boyes were taken up, and maintain'd by the greater ſort in a luſtfull manner (as they have been by the Romans) and were called their παιδικὰ *Pages*: all ſuch *Catamites* or *Ganymedes* were uſually called * πάϊδες, though I know, παῖς and κοῦρος too, are frequently uſed by *Sophocles* and others, in no ill meaning at all. * Heſych.

CAP. XI.

De Puerorum Caſtigatione &c.

IF a boy at any time were refractory, and ſtubborn in committing a faulk, the beſt means the Mother could uſe to perſwade him to leave it, was to ſhew him her breaſts, μετὰ κρείττονος ἰατρείας, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides*, as the moſt powerful motive ſhe had. But the Fathers and the Maſters took another courſe with him. If a boy had deſerved to be whipt, he ſhould be ſure enough of his wages from *them*, for they tyed him faſt πρὸς ξύλον, to a *block*, to make him *kiſs the poſt*; or πρὸς κοπάλην, to a *ſtake*, or a *pinne*, and ſo whipt him. And thus to be puniſhed they called it διαπαπταλιάζειν, διαπαπταλιάζειν γαμαί, ſaies he in a *Ariſtophanes*, which is rendred by *Friſchlin*, *Diſtentum affigêre humi*, as if they ſtretcht him out every way as much as they could, and tyed his neck, & armes, and leggs to pins faſtned in the ground for that purpoſe, to keep him from ſtriving. I know not whether this were the ſame as they called b τυμπανίζειν, or ἀντιτυμπανίζειν. But I think that to have been rather the ſtretching or pulling off the skinne, onely *fidiculis* with little cords, to make it as tight as that in a drumme. Of which perhaps the Poët ſpeaks when he ſaies. Ἡ βύρσα ζῶ δερνόσσῃ, from the δέρω, or the ſtoole, whereon they ſtretcht him or beat him, as they would a skin or a hide. That torture of one of the ſeaven brethren in the c *Maccabees*, pulling his skin off his head, may very well be reduced hither. And indeed I doe rather think the true *apotympaniſmũ* to have been a torture or a rack exerciſed upon any by Tyrants, rather than a puniſhment

a In Equit.

b Hp. ad. Hebr. c. 11. v. 35.

c L. 2 c. 7. v. 7.

niſhment of boyes and children by their Maſters. For ſo *Ariſtotle* in the ſecond book of his *d* Rhetorick, ſaies thus *Antiphon* the Poët, was uſed by *Dyonyſius* the Tyrant. And in the fixth * Chapter of the ſame Book, ſpeaking of the want of all fear, in ſuch as had already ſuffered the extremity of evils, he inſtances in thoſe that are thus uſed; ὥσπερ οἱ ἀπομαστιζόμενοι. And ſo *Plutarch* in his book *de Adulatione*, cries out upon thoſe flatterers of *Ptolomy*, that even πομπαστιζοῦντος, *when he was thus racking and torturing of men*, dürſt not open their mouths to diſſwade him. But yet I believe alſo, that there was an eaſier kind of πομπαστιγὸς when they would but beat a fellow with clubs, which they called πόμπανα. (if that be not rather the word for the block, upon which they ſuffered, for the Scholiaſt on theſe words of *Ariſtophanes* in *Pluto*, Ω πόμπανα καὶ κίονες—ſaies both ἐφ' ᾧ ἕστι, *on which*, and ᾧ, *with* which they beat him.) And that boyes were puniſhed with ſuch a thing, I have cauſe to think, from theſe words of *Plutarch* ἐπομπαστεῖ τὸ παιδίον &c. But to return to the puniſhment with the *Paſſalus*, I know the word σάπλα in that Poët, is more often uſed to expreſſe another manner of handling a man, by any body elſe as well as a Maſter. For inſtance, in *Theſmophoriazuſæ*, when one kept a great deale of noiſe, and would not be ſilent, another threatens him to put a σάπλον in his mouth.

—ἐμβαλῶ σοι.
Πάσσαλον, ὦ μὴ σιωπᾷς.

Where the Scholiaſt ſaies he alluded to the trick (uſed with us alſo) of thruſting a ſtick in a Hogs mouth, when they would ſee whether it had τὴν χαλάζαν, the *Haile*, or the Meazles or no: nay in the Poet himſelfe in *Equites*, you have one threatning to uſe another in this very manner. That faſhion of tying the boyes to a ſtake to whip them, I remember mention'd by *Themiſtius* under the name of περιστηλοδέσια in his firſt Oration, where ſpeaking of a *Plagoſus Orbilius*, that uſed to *pay* the poor and Fatherleſſe children to the purpoſe, becauſe they could pay *him* no better, ſaies he, παιδεία δυσχὴ περιστηλοδέσιαν ἔφερε. And ſo *Prometheus*, whom the

a Li. 2. c. 8. t. 38.

T. 24.

the Gods tyed to *Caucasus* hill, for ſtealing fire, is ſaid by *Menander*, to have been κρεμασθῆναι δυσίν, or ty'd like a boy to the Rocks;

Εἶτ' ἐκ δυοῖν κρεμασθῆναι δυσίν
Τοῖσιν τ' Προμηθέα μοι ξυμβαίνει.

Where he prettily pleads his cauſe, as if he had been too hardly dealt with for ſo ſmall a matter. Nay the power of a Father over a child went farther yet: For firſt, (before that *Solon* made a Law not to do it, unleſſe it were found in the act of adultery) any one might ſell his child when he a pleaſed. 2. The Father, if the Sonne had been faulty, might ἀποκηρύττειν υἱόν, b *abdicare filium ſuum*, turn him out of doors. But not till the Judges had the hearing of the cauſe, ſaies * *Demoſthenes*: and then the κῆρυξ, or the Cryer, went about, and cryed that τὸν δεῖνα, ſuch a one did deny τὸν δεῖνα, ſuch a one to be his Sonne any longer. He that was thus uſed, was ſaid ἐκπίπτειν τῶν γένων, to be rejected out of the Family, and was called ἀπάτωρ. If he were received into favour again, he was ſaid ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι εἰς γένος, to be taken into the family again: and then he could never be abdicated any more.

a Plut. in Sol.
b Lucian.
* Demoſt. περὶ Παραπρ.

CAP. XII.

De deſcriptione in Tribum.

THe Sonnes when they came to be three years old at the ſooneſt, and ſeven at the lateſt, were carried by their Fathers to the φρατρίαν, and regiſtred in the Tribe. But before they could be regiſtred, the Fathers were to take their Oathes that the children were theirs: and yet notwithſtanding the Oathes, thoſe heads of the Tribe if they liſted, might queſtion the matter, and put them to a ſuit in * Law. The time on which this was uſually done, was the third day of the Feaſt Ἀπατούρια. Which was ſo called, either according to the Etymological dictionary, becauſe the ſons, which before might be thought ἀπάτορες, to have *no Father*, did

* Demoſt. περὶ Μανδρ.

now make it appear, who the Father was. Or according to the opinion of *Xenophon*, because at that feast, ὅτι τότε αἱ ξυγγενεῖς ξύνοδοι ἦσαν αὐτοῖς, the fathers met altogether: and so it must be call'd Ἀπατούρια, in that manner as a wife is call'd, ἄλοχος, for ὁμόλεκτρος, or ἄκοιτις, for ὁμόκοιτις. where A is ὀτικὸν μόριον, and not a privative; as likewise in ἄφωνος, & many other such words. The third day of the feast was called by the name of Κουρεῶτις, ἀπὸ τοῦ κείρεσθαι, as who would say a *Shearing-feast*: because at that time they used to *cut their hair*. The hair which they cut, they called μαλλὸν, or πώγων, or πρῶτον πώγωνα, in opposition to ὕστατον, that which they cut at a funeral. This *lock* (as I think it was) they had nourished of purpose till that time, and consecrated to the honour of one of their Gods: as may appear by the practice of *Bacchus* himself: for when *Pentheus* threatned to cut off his dainty lock, he had nothing else to dissuade him, but to tell him it was *sacred*, (like the lock of the * *Nazarites*.

L. 1. Ἑλλην.

Num. c. 6 v. 5.

a Eurip. in Bacch. 494.

a Ἰακχεῖ ὁ θαλλὸς τῷ Διὸς δ' αὐτὸν τρέφω.

And thus *Theseus* is said to have consecrated his hair to *Apollo* at *Delos*: The hair thus cut, because it was the first time that ever they cut it, and because it was done by way of an offering, they called ἀπαρχὰς, *the first fruits* of the hair, (for the word both English, Greek, and Hebrew, is applicable to any thing that is first.) Such first fruits of his Beard b *Nero* put into a Golden box, which he adorned with pretious jewels, and laid it up in the Capitol.

b Sueton. c. 12. ejus vitæ.

If the children were of a noble blood, they would go as far as *Delphos* to give it to *Apollo*. But if others, some to one God, and some to another (I think they had their choice, for there were Gods enough of conscience) at *Rome*, beside *Apollo*, whom still one or other was careful to supply (notwithstanding his own *Intonsum caput*, and his long hairy beames)

Martial.

Hos tibi, Phœbe, vovet totos a matrice crines,

Æscalapius was remembred too: For *Statius* speaks of one *Earinus*, that sent his hair to him to *Pergamus*, in a curious box beset with Jewels, and a looking glass beside.

Mar. Ep. 9.

—dulcesque capillos,

Pergameo

Purgamina posuit dona sacrata Deo.

How was it then that the Vestal Virgins hung up their upon a *Tree*: which *Festus* saies they kept for the purpose, by the name of *Capillaria*? The Nuns, the Vestal virgins of these times have no such need, they have Gods and Saints enough, and to one of them they bestow a *love lock* for *entrance*, as I have heard it reported. But let me not run on with my empty cart, and take no notice of that which is asserted by some, contrary to what I have delivered. *Carolus Sigonius* and divers others say, that this registring in the Tribe book, and that which they called the *Searching* too, was not done till the boyes were fifteen years old, and the enroling of them into the ἀνδρῶνας παμπληθεῖς at eighteen: according to that of *Pausanias in Eliacis*, where he saies, that after they were eighteen years old, they were not to play at any kind of plaies with boys any longer. But as yet, I dare be so bold as to be of a contrary mind. For first, *Proclus upon Plato's Timæus* saies, that when they went to be registred, they were τριετεῖς ἢ τετραετεῖς, three or four years old, and there is my authority. 2dly. *Cnemon in Heliodorus* saith, he was registred as soon as he went to School, which is like to have been sooner than at fifteen years old: and there is my example. 3ly it is agreed upon by all, that at the time of Registring they offered up the *first fruits* of their hair: and it is not likely they should let it alone till fifteen years of age, and there is my reason. But, *Sequi nolo, nihil &c.* ie. is all one to me.

CAP. XIII.

De adscriptione in Epheborum censum, & in album Lexiarchicum.

When they came to be eighteen years old εἰσῆσαν εἰς τοὺς, they were listed among the number of those that were *inter pueros puberes*. And to this purpose they had certain Officers appointed to search them to see whether they were so or no, and to prove them whether they were able (as they

they called it) πρωτοκείρια τελεῖν, to keep Guard, or doe ſervice in the City, (of which before.) This ſearch or examination was called Δοκιμασία. If they were found to be *puberes*, found wind and limb, and like to prove Souldiers, they were laid in the Temple of *Anguium*, where they took a ſolemne oath *concepto verbis*, to be true to the Gods and the Country. This time wherein this was done was upon τὰ Ἀνάκεια, and that may be the occaſion of the difference I lately ſpake of. Neither were theſe latter rites performed without cutting of hair too. But commonly the faſhion was, either then, or at any other time but the firſt, to conſecrate their hair, not to this or that God, but to the rivers, eſpecially ſuch as belonged to the Country they lived in

Schol. in Hom. Il. ψ.

b Pauſan in att

εἰς ἐγχέσειον πόμας. Thus much may be gathered from *Peleus* his vow to conſecrate his hair to the River *Spercheius*, if *Achilles* returned in ſafety: and *Memnons* performance of the like to the river of *Nilus*: ſo (as * *Paul* ſhaved his hair at *Cenchrea*, upon the like occaſion,) The Nazarites, when *they* cut their *hair* of * *conſecration*, were to make uſe of the contrary Element, and to throw it in the fire. But amongſt the Greeks the cuſtome of paying tribute for their hair, when they cut it, to the *Water* (as to a principall cauſe of life and growth) was very uſuall both in men & women, eſpecially in times of mourning, when they cut it moſt. I remember *Helena* in *Euripides*, where ſhe bemoans the condition of the poor *Trojans*, and the ſad fruits of the Warre, ſpeaks of ſuch a thing done by the Virgins at the river *Scamander*.

c Philoſtr. Act. 18. 18.

Num. c. 3.

Ἀπὸ γὰρ παρθένιοι κόμας
Ἔβαπτον εὐγενοῦς παρηίδος
Σκαμάνδρου πρὸς ἀργυρῶν ῥείθρων,

d Eurip. Helen. v. 372.

Unleſſe you had rather think it was done (according to the cuſtome) to the dead bodies of their friends, that lay therein. I ſhould have told you that before they cut their hair, (I mean when they went out *Ephebi*) they firſt took a veſſel of Wine (κύλικα οἴνου, ſaies *Heſychius*) and having conſecrated it to the honour of *Hercules*, they began a health in it to the company there preſent. This ceremony, they called

τὸ

ἀποκείρεσθαι from the Wine. And here it may not be amiſſe, to mention the diſtinction, which you ſhall find in the Poets of two ſeveral waies of cutting their hair, in uſe among the Greeks. The one was κόμη, when they did but pare their hair, as they would do the borders in a *garden*: the other called πάρυσις, when they ſhaved it ſo cloſe to the skinne, that they made the head look like a ζωστὴν, a *Skiffe*, or a boat. When they came to be two years *pubers*, ἐπιτέλεις ἥβης γενόμενοι, (as *Demoſthenes* calls it) or twenty years old, τοὺς παῖδας ἐγγεγραμμένους *they wrote men*, or they became *ſui juris*, and their names were regiſtred by the *Demarchus* in his Λεξιαρχικὸν λεγόμενον, *in Albo Lexiarchico* a book wherein he kept the names of all thoſe that belonged to his *Demus*. It had this name ἀπὸ τῆς λήξεως, (or ἀπὸ τῆς ληξεως) ἄρχειν, becauſe as ſoon as any one's name was written therein, he might be *maſter* of an eſtate *himſelfe* if he had it. Beſides this book, there was πίναξ ἀνδρικὸς a table of box-wood, wherein every one was to ſet down of what *Demus* he was, together with the name of his Father. Now as for the women, they were not wont to be entred into any tribe, till the time when they came to be married, and that in the month of *Gamelion*, whereas the men were entred in the Month of *Pyanepſion*.

CAP. XIV.

Alimenta parentibus & alumnis præbenda.

WHen the Father came to *age*, or *neceſſity*, if the Son refuſed to ſupport him (unleſs he were a *nothus*, or had not been breed up to a *calling*) he might be ſerved with a Writ τῆς γραφῆς τῶν γονέων, and if he were convicted, his puniſhment was to be excommunicated all Society, both ſacred and civil, and to be fined a mulct beſides. This maintenance and ſuccour, he was bound by a Law of *Solons* making, to afford not onely to his Parents but to any friend elſe, o whom he owed his education: and thence it was called ἀντιτροφὴ, and ἀντίδοσις, or τροφεῖα, in Latine *Alimenta*.

This

This debt they reckon'd themſelves ſo ſtrongly engaged to pay, that they abominated, deprecated, and grieved for nothing ſo much, as to die before it was paid, according to that in the Poet, *Iliad.* δ'.

ἐξ πείνῃ
Θρῃκες φίλοις ἀπέδοκε μινυνθάδιοι δ' οἱ ἔπειτα
Ἔτλης δ' - rendred by *Val.* [a] *Flaccus* thus.

a L. 6.

—*nec reddita charo*
Nutrimenta patri brevibus præreptus in annis.

Inſomuch that the Parent might very well ſay to his children [b] *Non eſt beneficium quod poſcitis, ſed facinus quod negatis.* And indeed I muſt needs ſay thus much for them, I have found them for the moſt part, very careful to keep out of debt in this kind, and very tender hearted to their Parents, as may be gathered by this one practice of theirs in uſe among them, *viz.* If a Father had been any time abroad, when he came home again, the Daughters themſelves, preſently fell to waſhing his feet, and anointed them with oyle, ἵνα ἀναμίλλωνται τοὺς πατέρας καὶ τοὺς γέροντας ſaith the Scholiaſt, inſomuch that *Euphron* (ſaith he) thought that *Homer* had uſed the Epithete ἀμύμονας for the feet, in alluſion to this anointing. (it may be) they uſed to kiſſe them too (as *thee* did the feet of our Saviour) for ſo ſaith he of his Daughter in *Ariſtophanes*.

b Quintil decl. 6.

c In Ariſt. Veſp.

Eurip. Med. v. 133.

—καὶ σφῶϊν μ' ἡ δυσμήτηρ
Ἀπωτέρω, καὶ τοὺς πάλαι ἀλοίους καὶ σφαγίοισι φιλήσει.

For the Children thus to maintain their Parents out of an *Antipelargy*, and to *feed* the *old ones* like the birds, it was commonly termed in one word γηροτροφεῖν, and ſo *Medea* uſes the word to her children at parting.

— εἶχον ἐλπίδας
Πολλὰς ἐν ὑμῖν γηροτροφήσειν τ' ἐμέ.

Next to the charges of *maintaining* the parent when he is *old*, are thoſe of *burying* him, when he is *dead*; and thoſe to be borne by the Sonne too. And therefore *Admetus* running out upon his father, for not offering to lay down that life in *his* room, which being then very old, he muſt ſhortly leave

leave in his own; *Well* (saies he) *I am to be reckoned but a dead man, & you for your part, are not like to have any more sons now:*

a Οἱ γυναικοκράται καὶ δακόντα σε Πηλεΐωνι, καὶ σοῦ θάνοντ' ἐνὶ κηδεῖ. a Idem in Alceſt. v. 664.

That will you *feed*, and ſhrowd your head,
And *Lay you forth* when you are dead.

And now that we have brought the man ſo near his end: we will ſhew him what courſe he is to take for the diſpoſing of his eſtate, only becauſe if he ſhould have no children at all, or none ſuch as they ſhould be, there might be a doubt what to do, I will ſpeak a word of that firſt.

CAP. XV.

De adoptione, teſtamento, & hæreditate.

IF a man had either no child at all, or none that was γνήσιος, *free born*, he had power * to adopt him a *ſtranger* or any one elſe. And this was to be done after the manner of a Will, ſign'd and ſeal'd in the preſence of the Magiſtrate, as their wills were wont to be. Whoſoever was thus adopted, muſt firſt be made free of the City, and then be aſcrib'd into the Tribe (or fraternity) of him that adopted him. But this laſt was to be done upon the feaſt of Ἀπατούρια in the month of *Thargelion*, and not at the ordinary time. Having thus left his *old* tribe (which they were not bound to do among the Romans) he was not to return to it again, till he had beholten a child in the *new*. As for the mans eſtate it paſſed to another, either κατὰ γένος *by deſcent*, or κατὰ διαθήκας, *by virtue of a will*. Now by *Solons* laws (for before their eſtate could not be convey'd but to thoſe of the kindred) a man might make any body his heire of any eſtate that he had, which was not in controverſie, but with theſe ſix qualifications. First he himſelf muſt be no fool nor Mad-man. 2. No priſoner, ſo as to make his will againſt his will: for then it could be no Will. 3 No ſtranger: for then his eſtate went to the common treaſure. 3. No adopted man: for ſuch a ones

* Iſæ. de Ariſt. Demoſt.

ones eſtate if he wanted a child, was to paſs to the * next of the Adopters kinred. 5. Not perſwaded thereunto by his Wife: for ſuch a one (ſaies my Author) ωλαʃχολᾶν δοκεῖ, *is little better than a mad man.* 6. Not having a male child of his own, for then the inheritance ſhould go to him. And if there were more males than one, they were to be ἐπίκληροι, *copartners,* or *joynt-tenants.* But in caſe he had no male child at all, and died without a Will, the eſtate fell to the next Male of the Kinred. If he had but one Daughter in all, or if the Sons that he had, were not γνήσιοι, *free born and legitimate:* the Daughter was to be ἐπίκληρος, or μονογενὴς, ſole heir. And therefore *he* in *Ariſtophanes Avibus,* told *Hercules, Minerva* could not poſſibly be ἐπίκληρος to *Jupiter,* if *Mars* and *Vulcan* were his legitimate ſons:

—πῶς ἂν ποτε
Ἐπίκληρον τὴν τοῦ Διὸς Ἀθηναίαν δοκεῖς;
Οὐδαμῶς δυοῖν τοῖν ὄντοιν ἀδελφοῖν γνησίοιν,

I ſay this Daughter was the heire, and the next of the kin was to marry her; or the next of kin who was to marry her, became the heire by the marriage. A Woman or a Boy, if they made a Will, could not go beyond μέδιμνον κριθῶν: ſix buſhels, (they ſay it is) or the value of ſuch a meaſure of Barly. He to whom the eſtate did paſſe, by what way ſoever it were, was forthwith to make his claim to it before the Prætor: which thing they called κλῆρον ἢ κλῆσιν, or ἐπιδικάσασθαι τοῦ κλήρου. And if any one would ἐξαγορεύειν, lay in any thing to defeat the claim, he was to proſecute his title. And now the man hath made his will, the next care he has is how to be buried when he dies: I ſhall therefore endeavour to ſhew him how to have that done too in the ampleſt manner; onely firſt, I will ſatisfie him of the neceſſity of having a burial.

* Demoſt. ad Leochar.

* Id contr. Olympiodorum.

Iſæus de Ariſtarch.

Demoſt. contr. Stephan.

CAP.

CAP. XVI.

De neceſſitate ſepulturæ.

I Remember *Cicero* in *his Topicks*, divides juſtice into three kinds, *unam ad ſuperos, alteram ad manes, tertiam ad homines pertinentem:* of the ſecond kind of juſtice *viz. to the dead*, I do find every where among the ancients ſo religious a care, and ſuch ſacred eſteems of a *buriall*, that ſepulchers were called *templa*, and the rite of a funeral acknowledged to be τὰ νόμιμα by the Greeks, as well as *juſta* by the Latins. Inſomuch that the *Athenians* had a Law, that if any one happened but by chance upon the carcaſe of another, whoſoever it were, he ſhould be bound to caſt earth upon it three times togeather, and give it a mouthfull of Turfe.

—*Capiti inhumato*
Particulam dare.— [a]

Ælian. Var. Hiſt. l. 5. c. 14.
[a] Horace l. 1. Od. 28.

The Romans (it ſeems by *Quintilian. Declam.* 5. obſerved this cuſtome exceeding well, for (ſayes he) *Ignotis cadaveribus humum congerimus, & inſepultum quodlibet corpus nulla feſtinatio tam rapida tranſcurrit, ut non quantulocunq; veneretur aggeſtu.* And if any one omitted the duty, he muſt make ſatisfaction by ſacrificing a Sow-pig *porcam piacularem* (as they called it) to *Ceres*. But the Scholiaſt upon *Sophocles* in *Antigone* goes farther: ὁ τινὸς ὁρῶν νεκρὸν ἄταφον, μὴ ἐπαμησάμενος χοῦν ἐπ' αὐτῷ. Whoſoever ſaw a dead body, and did not put the duſt upon it, was not onely a breaker of the Law, but ἐναγὴς, a *ſcelus*, an *accurſed devoted fellow*, *anathema*, (for what ſhould the body do any longer in the aire, which it is not able to draw?) and therefore they accounted τὰ ἄταφα, ἀνιερώτατα, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon * *Euripides*, and τοὺς κατὰ χθονίους θεοὺς μάλιστα φοβεῖσθαι, very much feared that the Gods under ground would be angry, if any belonging to them were above ground. No greater imprecation to an enemy amongſt them, than ἀτάφους χοῦς, that *he might not be covered with the Earth*. Methinks I ſee * *Hector*, upon his knees

[a] Feſtus c. 14.
* In Helen.
* Homer.

knees to *Achiles* as he was ready to ſtab him; and * *Ajax* in his prayers to *Jupiter* (before he fell upon his ſword) earneſtly beſeeching them not to ſuffer their bodies, when their ſoules were removed to be left behind in the lurch, to be meat *for the doggs and the birds*. Hence ſurely it was, that the ancients ſtood ſo much in fear of a death upon the Sea, or at ſhipwrack, becauſe of the death: for there they could never be interred.

* Sophoc.

Demite naufragium, & mors mihi munus erit.

ſaies *Ovid*. Inſomuch that when they went to Sea, or at leaſt when they feared to be *caſt away*) as we call it, for there if the Soul be gone, we have loſt the body too) their cuſtome was to faſten to one part or other of their bodies, a reward for him, that ſhould find it, and bury it, if it were caſt aſhore. εἶναι δὲ πρὸ τοῦ ἐντάφιον τὸν ἐν ναυαγίᾳ νεκρὸν, ὃ δὴ καὶ πυκτὸν ἢ κηδόνας νόμος ἀνθρώποις αἰδέσεως αἰδοίοις, μὴ ἐκ μικροῦ τι μέρος ἀποδιδόσθαι τοῦ χαριζομένου πολλαπλάσιον; Sayes *Syneſius* in one of his Epiſtles. Moreover not only if a corps were not buried at all, but if it were not buried as ſoon as poſſibly it could, it was counted ἀσεβημά τι τῶν νεκρῶν, as if they had offended the *manes*: whereas on the contrary, if it were done without delay, they thought it χάριτος τῶν νεκρῶν, that they had done them a pleaſure. You have thoſe two words uſed by the Scholiaſt, upon the ſaying of *Homer*, *Iliad.* 7.

ἀπὸ δὲ Πατρόκλοιο τεθνηότος ἐκλελάθοντο.

Patroclus is ſaid to have been angry with *Achilles* for ſuch a delay; and how true it is which one ſayes, that the bodies were kept fourteen dayes and fourteen nights, before they were buried, I do not yet find.

Alex. ab. Alex. l. 3. c. 7.

CAP. XVII.

De ter vocanda anima, & de Cenotaphiis.

BUT next to the happineſſe of *being buried*, was that of being *buried in their own Country*. Inſomuch that if a Man died ſo farre from home, that they could not come to the

the *body*, they were wont with ſolemn and frequent invocations, naming him thrice at every time, τρὶς καλέσαι τὴν Ψυχήν:—*manes ter voce vocare* (as I may ſay) *to give a hollow for the Soul*: which they thought was ſtill *quick* enough to come to *them*. [a] *Pindar* ſayes, that *Phrixus*, when he was a dying at *Colchis*, deſir'd *Pelias* to ſee this office perform'd for him, [a] In Pyth. Od. 4.

—κάλεσσε χθόνα
Ψυχὰν καμόντος ἐπικέσθαι.

And ſo *Ulyſſes*, after he had loſt threeſcore and twelve of his company among the *Cicones*, preſently made it his buſineſſe (ſayes *Homer*) τρὶς ἕκαστον ἀΰσαι to give a whoop for *every one three times*. As *Theocritus* ſayes of *Hylas*, τρὶς μὲν Τλαν ἀΰσαι. In *Virgil* he is named but twice.

—*Hylam* nauta quo fonte relictum
Clamaſſent: ut litus Hyla, *Hyla*, omne ſonaret: III. 13. Eccl. 6.

Doubtleſſe they would have been glad, to believe their *bodies* alſo might be rolled under the ground, into their native Country, as ſome of the *Jewes* do think theirs ſhall into the land of *Canaan*. And yet a great many of them knew, that if they cry'd their hearts out to the Soules themſelves, it could be to little purpoſe. For as I remember, one in *Ariſtophanes's Ranæ* ſaies concerning the dead,

Οἴχεται γὰρ λίχνητες ἐξικνούμενα.

They are gon ſo far, οἴχονται, (οἶχος to go is uſed alſo for τὸ θανεῖν, we ſay a man is *dead, and gone*) that you cannot reach them at thrice calling.

But muſt this be all? can there be no way elſe to honour the man, unleſſe you can finger the carcaſſe? yes, he ſhall be kept ſafe in a Grave and a Monument, though he never be buried. Such a Monument they called Κενοτάφιον: and to bury a man thus in *effigie* (as I may ſay) κενοταφεῖν, as in * *Euripides*.

Οὐ τωνδε παῖς πᾶσ' ἐπόντα κενοταφεῖ. Helen. v.

The Scholiaſt upon the ſame Poët in *Hecuba*, gives a full teſtimony of the cuſtome, ſaying that, Εἰώθασιν οἱ Ἕλληνες τὸν ἀπόντα τὸν ἀπροσδόκητα, κἂν ἐν ἄλλῃ γῇ τυγχάνῃ, χώσαι τὸ κενοτάφιον εἰς τὸ ζῆν τὴν μνήμην, though the body were buried in another Country, to keep his memory above ground, they would bury

bury his grave. Nonnus calls this *Cenotaphion* Κενοτάφιον, from κενὸν a Sepulcher. Such a thing as this *Æneas* made for his Father.—[b] *Tumulum Rhœteo in littore inanem*
Constituit—[c] *Progne* for *Philomela.*
—*& inane Sepulchrum*
Constituit— The *Pythagoreans* for those *qui à Philosophia sua descivissent*, (accounting them *as bad as* departed out of the life, that had departed from their *principles*) The *Athenians* for all those that died upon the Sea.

Ὡς ἦ δαὐτὰ σ' ἐνάλιον κατὰ σᾶμα
Θάψαι— sayes the Poet concerning *Helena's* husband. Tis worth our labour to read the story. what a pudder the Woman kept about putting a suit of clothes in a beer, as if his body were there; and bedecking it with flowers, and carrying it out into the Sea to drown it. If it may not be grievous, I will produce the words which passed between *Theoclymenus* and *Helen* concerning the custome.

Theoc. Τί δ' ἐς δαὶ τὸν τύμβον; ἢ θάψεις ξένον;
Hel. Ἕλλησιν ἐστι νόμος, ὃς ἂν πόντῳ θάνῃ.
Theoc. Τί δρᾶν, σοφοί τοι πλόκαμον τ' οἰκάδε.
Hel. Κενοῖσι δεῖσθαι ἐν τάφοις σῶμα ζῶν.

If a man died fighting in the field, and his body could not be found, he was honour'd with the carriage of an *empty* beer, in pomp, and a burial, in the *Ceramicus*, with Pillars and Epitaphs in the stateliest manner that might be. For with this provision for his Burial, he in * *Aristophanes* comforted himself and his friend ὁ Κυφαμεικὸς δήξεται νιν. what need I say more of this? It was a common thing every where as * *Ovid* sayes. *Et sæpe in tumulis sine corpore nomina legi.*

[b] Virg. Æn. 6.
[c] Ovid. l. 6. fab. 8.
* In avibus.
* L. 11. fab. 10.

CAP. XVIII.

De mortui mutilatione, & iis quæ in homicidiis fieri solebant.

THE customes used in *Athens* upon the dead body were different, according to the different wayes by which he came to his end, *viz.* Violent, and Natural. And first of the

the customes used in a violent death. If the man had kill'd himself (αὐτόχειρ) they cut off the hand with which he did it, and buried it in a place apart from the rest of the body. So saies *Cal. Rhodiginus*, but I know not who told him so. In dieing (or falling down) Men and Women, but especially the Women were exceeding careful, that they might not discover any thing that was not to be seen, but εὐχημόνως πίπτειν as *Euripides* saies of *Polyxena*. If *another* killed a man, he that killed him, if he thought that he had done it justly and in a good cause, though he washed his hands after it (as they would do after killing any other Creature) yet he used to take the sword that he did it with, and hold it up towards the Sun with the bloud on it, σύμβολον τῆς δικαίως πεπρᾶχθαι, (saies the Scholiast upon *Euripides* in *Orestes*) to shew that he fear'd not if heaven were witnesse, & all the World knew of the fact. If he had done it unjustly, instead of *shewing* the bloud, he wip'd it off in the hair of the party slain: ἀπομάττεσθαι τὸ μῦσος ἐν τῇ κόμῃ (saies the *Scholiast* upon *Sophocles* in *Electra*) *averruncare*, to abominate, *and wipe away* the *abomination* of the fact. But if it were ἐμφύλιος and συγγενὴς φόνος (as he sayes) i.e. *if the party were one of his own Tribe or kinred*: he could never wipe it so clean, but some would stick. And therefore fearing it would draw the Furies to revenge it, they povided amulets and spells to keep them off. And what better thing than a part of the body it selfe? for having that in their power as a hostage, to do what they would with it, the Ghost of the party would not offer to meddle with them, or else would spare the bearer for love of the carriage. And therefore as soon as they had slain him, they cut off all the *extreme* or *outmost parts* of the outmost members, and sewing them, or tying them together wore them under their arme pits. The *extremities* thus used they call'd ἀκρωτήρια, and so to use the body ἀκρωτηριάζειν, as they call'd it likewise, if they did but cut the *tops* of the *ears* when a man had committed a fault, saies the *Etymologicall Dictionary*, which may more properly be called λοβῶδαι, from λοβὸς the lap of the eare. Though that word, and λυμάσασθαι, bec

Soph. in Elect. Stra.

L. 44. be also used for as bad usage as ἀκρωτηριάζειν: unlesse you will say this was properly said to be done, when they killed the party quite. Those ἀκρώτηρια, are sometimes called ἀνάγματα or ἐξάγματα, as in* *Apollonius*, where he speaks of *Absyrtus* his being thus used by his sister *Medea*.

Ἡρως δ' Αἰσονίδης ἐξάγματα τέμνε δαΐφρων.
Ἡ δέ μιν αὖ ἐίσσητι σελασσέσθαι ἐλάεσσιν.

And sometimes μασχαλίσματα from μασχαλίζειν, the same that ἀκρωτηριάζειν; because oftimes they hung those pieces of the body ἐν μασχάλαις to their armeholes, of which *Sophocles* speaks thus,

Τὸν μὲν δαϊκτὸν ἄκρον ὡς λυμαίνεται,
Ἐμασχάλισε.

But if he had kill'd the man by treachery, he hung those pieces about his *neck*, and taking some of the blood, spit three times in his mouth. This fashion of mutilating, or *Laceration* as they call'd it, and cutting of pieces from the Noses, and the eares, and the hands, and the feet, was in use likewise among the Romans: not onely upon men *slain*, (as *Quintilian* sayes, *truncus partibus suis umbras*) but when they did not kill them out-right: according to that in *Virgil Æn.* 6.

Atque hic Priamidem laniatum corpore toto
Deiphobum vidi lacerum crudeliter ora,
Ora, manusque ambas, populataque tempora raptis
Auribus, & truncas inhonesto vulnere nares.

C. 1. 7. That practice of *Adonibezeks*, which we read of in the book of *Judges*, in cutting the fingers and toes of the Kings, may well be called *Acroteriasmus*, as this was.

The usuall punishments to be suffered by him that had kill'd another were these. If he had done it unwillingly, he must fly his own Country and get into another, (as the Israelites were to fly to the *Cities of refuge*) Being there, he must betake himselfe (saith the Scholiast) εἰς ἄλλου τινὸς ἀνδρὸς πλοῦτον, into some great mans house that was able to protect him (for reject him he might not coming as an ἱκέτης, or Petitioner) and there set him covered by the hearth (a place which they counted holy) καθέζεσθαι λόμενον, to expiate the fact, and purge himself of the pollution. If the party were one of his

Joshua c. 20.
* On Homer. Il. Θ.

a Schol. in Eurip. Hip.

own

own Tribe or kinred, he muſt tarry out of his Countrey a whole year at the * leaſt. *a Euſtathius* ſayes, antiently they ſuffered them ſometimes to redeem their liberty with a fine of two Talents of Gold. But afterward, it ſeems to have been otherwiſe: Inſomuch that a Murtherer was not onely forbid χορείας τιθέναι, or ἱερῶν μετέχειν, *to participate in their Sacrifices himſelf*: But every Body elſe (of his own Country was forbid to receive him into his houſe. Nay they might not be allowed to *ſpeak* to him: as thinking him ἀνόσιον εἶναι, ἰσαγῆ, ſo unholy a thing, as that he might not have the name of a Man, as *Euripides* ſaies, ὃς ἀνδρ' ἀπέκτα II. X. κἀκλῃ. The Scholiaſt upon *Homer*, out of *Callimachus*, ſaies that among the *Theſſali*, they uſed to drag him about the grave, where the party was buried whom he had ſlain; as *Euridamus* did *Symon* for killing his brother *Thraſymus*.

* Schol. in Eurip Hip. a II. 18.

CAP. XIX.

De clauſendis oculis, pulſandis ægris vasis, & amiciendo corpore.

IT was the Cuſtome among the Greeks, as well as among the Jews and the Romans, when a man was a dying, or his Sun was a ſetting (as they uſed to ſay, ——δύνοντος ἠελίοιο Theoc. νέκυν) to have his eyes cloſed by the Parents, or the next of the kinred: and they call'd it συγκλεισμὸν ὀμμάτων. The perform- ing of this ceremony by the *Kinred*, was ſo much valued, that it was bewail'd as a very great unhappineſs, to dye in ſuch a place where a mans friends could not be preſent to do it as *Ulyſſes* ſaies. II. O.

——ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐμὸς υἱὸς ἑταίρους
Οὐδὲ κασιγνήτους θανάτου——

If a *man* died ſuddainly, ἀνέμου (ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Homer*) it was attributed to *Apollo*, if a *Woman* to *Diana*, I know II. not whether I may here venture to tell you, from an old Scholiaſt upon *Theocritus*, that juſt at the time of death, they had a cuſtome likewiſe to make a great *ringing* with *veſſels*

of *brass*; (*Bells* some render it) to fright away the Hell-goblings, and Furies from the Soul. For such a kind of sound (he saies) is κωλυτικὸς ἀπὸ μιασμάτων of a special virtue for such effects. But else I should rather imagine it to have been done for the same end, that a Roman *Conclamation* was, *viz.* to try whether the party were but *dead asleep* (not *dead and gone*) and so to awake him with the noyse, as they were wont to do to the Moon in an Eclypse, when they thought her asleep. The eyes being cover'd with the lids, the face was next cover'd with a cloath: and that by the next of the Kin too: for *Hippolytus* as he lay a dying, thus calls to his father to do it.

Eur. Hipp. v. 1458. Κρύψον δέ μ' ἐσθῆτι σῇ, τὸν χρῶτα πᾶσαν.

And indeed the whole business of stretching out and shrowding the body, belonged especially to the next of the Kin. And therefore *Cassandra* in *Euripides*, endeavouring to prove the condition of the *Trojans* to be better than that of the Greeks that besieged them, saies, That *they*, having the happiness to dye at home among their friends and kindred, were

Χερσὶν οἰκείαις τε καὶ προσηκούσαις δέμας
Shrowded by whom they ought, their Kin. If a Father or a Mother died a Widow, the children did it. And so *Andromache*, her Children, she had once hopes it should have been done by them to her self.

Eur. Med. v. 1036. Καὶ γὰρ θανόντος οὐκ ἔχουσ' ἐμοῦ χέρας.

If the Husband died, the Wife did it. Which happiness the Greek Souldiers could not attain, if they dyed at Troy.

Troad. v. 379. ——— ἐκ δόμων τ' ἄπο χερῶν.

Πέφυκε συγγενὴς.

If a brother, the sister. Which made *Oreste* when he was to suffer death among the *Scythians*, a great way off from his home, cry out so pittifully.

Id. Iphig. in Taur. Φεῦ, πῶς ἀν' ἁμὸν αἷμ' ἀδελφῆς χεὶρ ἄτερ λάβοι ἄν;

Alack! how shall my Sister shrowd me now?

CAP.

CAP. XX.

De offâ Cerberi, & Naulo Charontis.

THe body being dead, began from thence to be *Sacrum*, *sacred*, those that are dead are called ἱεροὶ by *a Plutarch*, and the graves themselves ἱερὰ by *Lycophron*, as soonas the body was in. *Sacred* I say, that is not to be injured, far enough from *holy*, insomuch that if a man had but toucht it, ἁγνὰ θίγε χερσὶν (as you have read it already) he could not meddle with any *holy* thing after, till he had washed, νιψαμένη, as a Jew: *Touche* did I say? when *Hippolytus* lay a dying, *Diana* would not so much as stay and *see* him dead, for fear of pollution.

Καὶ χεῖς' ἁγνὸν ἔθηκε θεὰ ποτὶ πατρὸς ἄκοιτιν,
Οὐδ' ἄρα χρὼς ἐμίανε θανασίμοιο ἰοκτασίης.

The same may be said of the graves ἀνοσίους τέυχε, saies *Hesiod*, for ἐσθλὰ they were not, but only in this sense, that they were ἄθικτα, not to be medled with, as some would have it to be meant by that of the same Poet,

Μηδ' ἐφ' ἀνοσίοισι καθίζεο —

Insomuch that *Plutarch* in his *Rom. Quæst.* saies that those men, that out of pride would make their burying place, and provide the funerall pomp, before they dyed, were not fit to bear the name of ἀγνοὶ themselves, the whole performance of the ceremonies which used to prepare the body for the buriall, was called (saies the *Scholiast* upon *Æschylus*) ἀγνισμὸς, as the *elatio* or carrying forth, was called ἐκφορὰ. The ceremonies were these. First they took a piece of mony above a half penny (it was dearer there, than at *Rome*) and put it into his mouth to *pitch* his *fare* to the πορθμεὺς, or Ferriman, *Charon*: the piece of mony was called by the name of *Obolus*, because it was given τοῖς ὀβολοῖς which signifies the *dead*, from ὀβολὸς ὁ νεκρὸς, because of their *dry bones*. I remember the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* in *Ranis*, (where *Charon* bid the man to waite

a In vita Numæ.

Eur. Hippol. 1447.

—πυρὸς ἢ λίθου) ſaies that there was a ſtone which the Poet fain'd to be ἀντὶ νεκροῦ, *in the place of the dead*, call'd by the name of *Anemus* παρὰ τὸ ἄνεμον τοῦ νεκροὺς ποιεῖν, *becauſe the bodies of the dead muſt needs be as dry as duſt.*

Together with the money they threw in a morſel of pudding or paſt, or Cheeſe, to give to *Cerberus* to ſtop his wide mouth, when he had bit him to death already. It was uſually made of flower temper'd with honey (too good for a dog) and therefore called more peculiarly κηρύκιον, and κηρύκιον μαγίδα ἐλέγοντο τοὺς νεκροῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ὃ ἔοικε καὶ κόμμι, ſaies *Suidas*, ſuch a kind of thing *Æneas* is ſaid to have given him, when he viſited the dead

Mella ſoporatæ, & medicatæ frugibus offam
Objecit.

Æn. 6.
Met. l. 6.

Apuleius ſpeaks of more pieces than one, *offas polentæ mulſo concretas.* & ſaies, they were to carry a piece in each hand. The Poet in * *Luſiſtrate* us'd it but in the ſingular number,

* Ariſtophan.

—πυρὸν ὀβολιαῖον
Μαγίδα τε λαβὼν ἐξιέναι χρή.

It may be the ſame Poet alluded to this cuſtome in thoſe words of his in *Pace.*

ὅτ' ἀλφίτ' ἦν πρὸν ἢ ἀποθανεῖν ἐμοί.

CAP. XXI.

De Ablutione mortuorum, Pollinctura, & unicula ferali.

IF the party deceaſed were free of the City, the πολλυβίστης (you may render it *Pollinctores*) took out his bowels, and with heated water, which they put into a *Lebetum* kept in a Temple for the purpoſe, waſhed the body: as thoſe ſtrip'd the body of *Tabitha* before they laid her *in the upper room.* This λοῦτρα πτισσόντα (as *Electra* hall'd out in the poeſie) was a thing accounted ſo neceſſary, that *Socrates* (as it is in *Plato*) when he intended to drink his own death in a health; though he left to ſee about it himſelfe beforehand, and ſave the Women a labour: Ὅσα περιττὰ πρὸς τὸ λοῦτρον, δοκεῖ μοι ἤδη ἐλαττοῦσθαι

* Acts c. 9. v. 37.
Eurip. v. 157. Electra.
a In Phædone.

λουσάμενον αὐτῶν τὸ φάρμακον, ἢ μὴ φάρμακα ἢ γυναιξὶ παρέχειν νιπτῆρα λέγειν. Which puts me in mind of the like practice of *Alceſtis*, when ſhe intended to die for her Husband. Saies the Poet. [b] Ἐπεὶ δὲ πᾶσαν ἦμαρ ἐξέβη κύκλος

Ἡκεν τὸν ὑδροῖ ποταμίοις λευκὸν χρόα

Ἔλουτο.

When ſhe perceiv'd the day appointed near,
She waſh'd her ſelf in rivet water cleer.

[b] Eurip. Alc. v. 116.

In alluſion to this cuſtome * *Iphigenia* in her dream, ſeems a waſhing one of the pillars of the ruined houſe, when ſhe fancied to ſee.

Τὸ δοκοῦν αὐτὸν ὡς σφάγιον.

Interpreting the Pillar for a Son, and concluding the death of that ſon by the waſhing of the Pillar. To this waſhing, (it may be) alludes that expreſſion of *Strepſiades* to his ſon in *Ariſtophanes nubibus*.

Νεφέλαι τοίνυν σε καταλούσει μὰ τὸν Δία.

He caſteth aſperſions upon my life, and waſheth me as if I were dead. This work was indeed proper to the Women, but in caſe of neceſſity others might ſerve. And therefore in [c] *Galen* you ſhall find the *Cynicks* themſelves a waſhing poor *Theagenes*, becauſe he had neither wife, nor child, nor chick of his own to do it. Having waſhed the body, they anointed it with ointments, and poured *Ambroſia* upon his head and face, as *Homer* ſaies, *Jupiter* bid them do to *Sarpedon*;

[c] de Method. Medendi, l. 13. c. 15.

Il. 11.

Χεῦε δ' ἀμβροσίην ——

Having done this, they wrapt the body in a fine garment, Homer. Odyſſ. woven (it may be) long before by his Wife, or ſome other friend for the purpoſe: having alſo σουδάρια bands or liſts of cloth, to tye the hands and the feet withall, ſuch as * *Lazarus* had. *Feminibus amictis obſtrictus* ſaies * *Apuleius*. The colour of the Shrowd (if my memory ſail not) was white among the Grecians, but black with the Latines.

* John c. 11. v. 44

* Metam. l. 10.

CAP. XXII.

De ablutione à Mortuo. De cereis, quibus corpora ornabantur, de lecto, & de collocatione.

HAving thus cloath'd him with his Winding sheet, and his στολὴ: next they trim'd him with Garlands, ἐστέφανον τοῖς τεκροῖς ὅπερ ἔθος ἦν, ὡς τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀγωνισμάτων, saies *Suidas*, *as they would do to one that had run out his race, or fought it out:* & with the like signification, I have thought they put the cake in his mouth, for the same reason: for cakes were given for rewards, as well as Garlands. In allusion to these Garlands, *Eustathius*, when the Father was lamenting the death of his Son, makes him say, πῶς σε στεφανώσω τοῖς ἐμοῖς δάκρυσιν, *how shall I crown thee with teares?* an example of this practise, you may see in *Euripides*: where *Talthibius* speaks to *Hecuba* to do it to *Astyanax*, in the absence of his Mother, thus.

L. 10. Iliad.

—σὺ νιν περίβαλε τεκέων
Σὸν κρᾶτα· σὺ δὲ ὅσια δάκρυα δὸς ἐκ σῶν.

Eur. Troad. v. 1242. Aristot. de Rep. l. 6. c. 14.

After they had done this, they set him on the ground, with his feet outward toward the gate: as being never to put his foote in the house again. Then they took him and put him into a couch or a bed (τὸ λέκτρον) to be in a readinesse to be carried to his bed, for so *Lycophron* calls the grave κοιμητήριον, as it is likewise termed κοιμητήριον, and so the dead are called εὕδοντες, and κατακεκοιμημένοι; for death is a long sleep, as sleep is a short death. The couch was also adorned with Garlands made of all sorts of Hearbs & Flowers (as * *Euripides* saies) ὅσα χθὼν πολλὰ εἴδη βλαστάνει, but especially of Olive, which they used in victories. Having thus adorned it, they *placed it*, or *set it forth at the doors*, as *Patroclus* in *Homer* was,

In Med.

—αἰὲ πρόθυρον τετραμμένος.

This placing of him they called προτίθεσθαι, *collocare*, *Laying forth* (as we call it) as it is in *Alcestis*.

—ἡ προθοῦσα τὸν νεκρόν.

During the πρόθεσις, and all the time till the ἐκφορὰ (as they call'd

call'd it) till the body was carried forth, *efferebatur*, ἐξεκομίζετο, as S. *Luke* ſaith, (whether out of the houſe or the City) there ſtood at the door, a great earthen veſſel filled with water, which they fetcht from another houſe, for the people to waſh in, that came in and out. This veſſel is called by *Heſychius* χάσεα by *Pollux* ἀγγεῖον, and by *Ariſtophanes* ὕδρια in ſuch a place where he ſpeaks of the λήκυθοι too, that is the Pots for oyntments, wherewith they anointed the body: as likewiſe of ſtrewing of *Origanum* (they ſay it is for good hearts *originum tueri*) and of Vine branches, for what uſe I know not, unleſſe it were to lay the Corps upon in the time of anointing, or elſe to make the Torches of them: for of ſuch ſtuffe Torches were commonly made as *Euſtathius* ſaies ὁ φανὸς, was ἐκ χληματίδων κλῆμα. And ſo our Poet in *Lyſiſtrate* calls it ἑλμίνθιον ἕνα, pray take his own words, for the great pot of Water, the leſſer pots of oyntment, and the Vine-branches together.

Τὸν ἑλμίνθιον γὰρ εὑρὼν τὸν ἐμὸν
Καὶ λήκυθόν τιν' ἀπολιπὼν ἀμυκλαίαν τινὰ
Καὶ ἀμπελίδων, ἣ ἔκειτο παρὰ τοῖς νεκροῖς
Ταῦτά τι κἀπεδάκρυσεν ἀποθανὼν δόξας.

Thus I remember in *Euripides* his Tragedy of *Alceſtis* (verſe 999) one makes a doubt whether the woman were indeed buried, as they ſaid ſhe was, becauſe he could not ſee any ſpring water πηγαῖον ὑδρορρόαν (as he calls it, for ſuch it ſhould be) ſtanding at the door as the cuſtome was.

The waſhing it ſelfe was called λοετρὰ ἀπὸ λύειν, like the Iſraelites λουτρὰ ἀπὸ νίπτειν, which we read of in *Eccleſiaſticus* cap. 34. v. 25. and in *Numbers* c. 19. v. 11. The Romans uſed *Suffitionem*, *a perfuming of the houſe*: for they thought the whole houſe polluted, where there lay but a dead body by the wall. And ſo did the Greeks too, as may appear by thoſe words of *Helena*, and the Poet.

Ὁ Καδμεὺς δ' ἐμὸν δέμας ἐν δόμοις
Ψυχὰν ἔσπισε Μενέλεως —

Our houſe is clean, for Menelaus here
Loſt not his life.

a Euripi.

b C. 7. v. 11.

c in Eccles.

b Eurip. Hel. vv. 1446.

CAP.

CAP. XXIII.

De ritu efferendi & portandi corporis.

THE best time of burying they reckon'd to be in the day, and not in the night. And this I gather'd by those words in the Poet, wherein *Cassandra* the Fortune teller, threatning *Talthibius*, told him his fortune to be buried in the night, (clean contrary to the judgment of many now a daies, who make it an honour, for the better sort,) saies she

b Κεἰς κακὸς ταφήσῃ νυκτὸς, οὐκ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ.

b Id in Troad. v. 446.

Therefore the next day after the *Collocation*, before Sunrising

(ἐς ἠῶ ῥοδοδάκτυλος ἠώς.

Il. 11.

saies *Homer* in the funeral of *Hector*) *at break of day*, up the Corps is mounted, and carried a long most bravely ὥσπερ εἰς πομπὴν κεκοσμημένος (saies *Lucian*) in pomp, as if it were intended for a *shew*. Now it was carried (saies the Scholiast upon *Homer*) οὐκ ἐπί ὀχήματός τινος, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ ἀνδρῶν, not in any Litter or Coach, &c. but upon mens shoulders up aloof ἀράλῳ, as *Euripides* calls it, speaking of *Alcestis*, where he speaks also of φόσκοις, Servants, (I should have thought the bearers had been some of the kinred rather) that thus carried the Corps.

De Luctu.

πρόσπολοι)
Φέρουσιν ἀράλῳ πρὸς τάφον τινὰ, νέκυν.

In the like sense he uses the word φοροῦμαι in another Tragedy, where speaking of *Rhesus* his being *trang'd* away to be buried by his mother *Terpsichore*, when *Ulysses* had slain him,

Τὸν ὑπὸ χερὸς ὄντα, ὦ ξένε,
Τὸν νεόλουτον ἐκ ῥοᾶς
Φοροῦμαι πέμπειν—

c Eurip. Alc. v. 607.

If the party dyed of a violent death, especially in a fight, they used to carry forth Spears and other arms and armour along with the Corps, as the *Arcadians* did at the funeral of *Pallas*

—*Hastam alii, galeamque ferunt*—

And

And it is likely they held those Spears at the wrong end too, as the cuſtome is with us at the burial of a Souldier, and as *they* did then

—Et verſis Arcades armis.

As the Corps was a carrying forth from the Porch, it ſeems that they uſed ſome ſpeech or other, as to the party deceaſed, either to commend him for his virtues, or to commend him to the protection of the infernal Gods, to whom he went, or to bemoan his departure; for it may well be conjectured by the words of *Admetus* to the people of *Phera* concerning his Wife.

a Γραῖς ἢ τὴν δυσῶνυμον, ὡς τιμᾷς ἐμὴν,
Πέμψεις σὺ θᾶσσον ἐξόδοις ὑπαὶ τὸν ἐσθλόν.

a Eurip. Alc. 608.

Thoſe that accompanied the Corpſe, and were invited to the funerall, ſometimes went on foot, (if it were one whom they honoured very much) and ſometimes in a Coach. If it were a publick *b* perſon, or one of great note, they were all clad in white, and adorned with Garlands. In going to the grave the manner was for the Men to walk ſtately before the Corps, and the *c* Women (but not unleſſe they were threeſcore yeares of age, or of Kin to the party) to come whining behind, every one with a νάρθηκα about her, whatſoever that was.

b Diog. Laert. L. 10.

c Demoſt. ad Macart.

CAP. XXIV.

De Miniſterio Funerarum & Stricturum.

TO ſet forth the mourning with a better grace, as the Jews had מקוננות and the Romans *Præficas*: ſo *they* alſo had their ſinging Women of purpoſe to lead the dance, ἀοιδοὶ, οἱ θρῆνον ἐξάρχειν, as * Homer calls them; or παιανίστριαι as *Nonnus*. And ſince vocal Muſick might be allowed, I marvel very much why *Admetus* upon the death of his Wife ſhould be ſo ſtrict againſt any inſtrumental, either with the Harp or the Pipe.

a See Jerem. 9. v. 17.

* Il. Ω.

Αὐλῶν δ' μὲ κρατ' ἄκυν, μὲ λύρας πόνον
Ἔσῃ —

Eurip. Alc. v. 430.

Especially considering the virtue supposed to be in it, of all harmony according to that of *Macrobius*: *Mortuos quoque ad sepulturam prosequi oportere cum cantu plurimarum gentium vel regionum institutum asseverunt persuasione hac, quia post corpus anima ad originem dulcedinis musicæ, id est, ad cœlum redire creditur.* Indeed for the Harp, I have read, that they might not sing ἐπὶ λύρᾳ, in such times of mourning, because it was an instrument consecrated to the service of *Apollo*: for *Pæans*, and such merry songs (as the reason is given by the Scholiast upon those words of the Poet in his *Phœnissæ*, ὑμνεῖν ἡ μέλος.) But for the *Pipe*, I never knew but that they might sing ἐπ' αὐλοῖς: for else why were there πομπαῖοι αὐληταὶ *Pipers* among them? as there were *Siticines* among the Romans.

As many as came to the Funeral, brought along with them τι πόσμον, one fine thing or other, to carry in their hands, or to put upon the corpse, such as *Admetus* in *Euripides* denied his Father the liberty to give to his Wife, when all the company besides had given before,

a In Alc. v. 630.

Κόσμου γ' ὅσου σὺν δώμασ' ἦν δ', ἐκδώσεται.

I have some cause to think that some of those κόσμοι which they carried, were the *Images* and the *Arms* of the family of the party deceased (for such they were wont to have among the Romans) the more to honour the Funeral. And if so, then those περὶ τῶν ἀγάλματα * (neer the place above quoted) said to be carried by those which followed the corps, may be translated *imagines*, as well as *grata munera*. Or if it must needs be *grata munera*, it must be meant to the *gods* of the dead, and not the *dead* themselves.

* ib. v. 612.

But yet after all this, you do well to take notice, of a great deal of difference in the Pomp, according to the age of the party deceased: for such as had more age had more honour than others. And therefore when *Death* told *Apollo* (as he was interceding for the life of *Alcestis*) of a great deal more glory to be gotten by the death of the younger: he replyed, by no means; for

Κἂν γεραιὸς, ὅλωλε πλουσίως τάφοις.

If old she die, she will be richly buried.

And

And here, because I have such an occasion given me, before I go any farther with the Corps, I will make bold to tattle a little more than I thought to have done, concerning the customs used in mourning at Funerals, or any other time and first, of the cutting of the hair.

CAP. XXV.

De Capillis tondendis in Luctu.

THE Grecians, upon any extraordinary occasion of sorrow and *baldness* (as the *Hebrews* say) used to cut their hair κουρὰν (as they call'd it) or to shave it close to the skin. For so much may be gathered by those words of *Lysias* (cited by *Aristotle* in his * Rhetoricks) which he had in his speech for the Corinthians, that died in the fight with the Persians at Salamis, saies he, ἔδει ἂν οὐδὲν ἧσσον τὸν πόνον τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς Σαλαμῖνι γιγνομένοις κουρᾶσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων. *It had been no less than direct, if all Greece had been shaved at the burial of those gallant Souldiers that dyed at the fight of Salamis.* If this suffice not, you may take the testimony of *Euripides*, who would have the whole Country of the *Cyclopians* to do the like.

* L. 3. c. 18.

—ἰαχεῖτο δ' Κυκλωπία
Σλάγεσιν ὀπὶ κουρᾶτο πᾶσ' ἰάεσιν

And he himself when he dyed (as *Solinus* reports) was mourned for after this manner, by no worse man than *Archelaus* the King of the *Macedons*. In reference to this custome, *Strabo* speaks of a Town in *Cappadocia* called *Comana*, from the *mourning hair* cut in that place by *Orestes* and *Iphigenia*. So you shall meet with the like practice of *Telemachus* in the behalf of *Phaeton*: and of *Bacchus* the God (as *Euripides* saies he was) for the loss of his wife: Nay you shall find *Job* himself at this very work upon the news of his Childrens death. And in the Prophecy of [a] *Jeremy* you may read *Cut off thy hair, and cast it away, and take up a lamentation.* Tis true, they were to be blamed for these follies, and in [b] *Cicero* you shall meet with a saying of *Bion* himself, deriding the use of this custome

[a] C. 7. v. 29.

[b] Tusc. Q. l. 3.

some in *Agamemnon*: *Perinde ſtultiſſimum Regem ſe teſtatum capillum ſibi evellere, quaſi calvitio maior lacrymarum ſuarum fides accederet*, as if he aggravated the former loſs of his friends, with another of his hair. What if it be objected to all this, (which we confeſs to be true too) that it was a cuſtome to cut the hair in token of joy? For firſt among the Jews, if you look into the Bible, you ſhall find *Joſeph* cutting his hair, when he came out of priſon; and *Jonathans* Son, when he met with *David*, for joy doing the like. Nay that action of *Job* it ſelf, is by *Origen* (the *Allegorical* Interpreter) thought to have been an expreſſion not of ſorrow, but of a kind of joy, or a cheerful patience under his affliction. 2ly. Among the Romans, you know their *ſqualid priſoners* let their hair hang down long, that they might look the more *dejected*, and ſo move the judges to pity when they came to be tried.

a *Aſpice demiſſus lugentis more capillos.*

Ovid. in Epiſt. Whereas after their abſolution or releaſement, they preſently cut it. And therefore *Pliny* in one of his Epiſtles interprets his dream of the cutting off his hair, to be a token of his deliverance from ſome eminent danger. And laſt of all for your Greeks themſelves, that they let their hair grow long in times of ſadneſs, may appear by that of *Euripbron*.

Κομᾶν δ' ἀχεῖ τῶν κλαυτοῖ φόβῳ
Μύσιλον πολιὸν πτυχὰς δ' ἐνιππεύων.

And that they *cut it* in times of joy, will be out of queſtion, if we believe *Artemidorus*, who ſaies that ἡ χαρὰ ἀπὸ τῆς κουρᾶς λέγεται, *the word for rejoycing comes from the word which they uſe for cutting the hair.* To reconcile theſe things perhaps it may ſuffice to ſay, That cutting their hair ſhorter by way of κούρα, or a *trimming* (as we call it) was a token of joy, but ſhaving it cloſe, even to *baldneſs*, of ſorrow and dejection, as among the Jews, *weeping, and mourning, and baldneſs* were joyned together. Iſai. 22. v. 12. I know there are ſome, that think to reconcile all, by ſaying as *Plutarch* ſaies (in *Romulo*) ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσι τὰς γυναῖκας κείρεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας ταῖς γυναιξὶν, that the *men* expreſſed their ſorrow by cutting their hair, and the *women* by letting it grow. Which may be likely enough, becauſe

ſorrow, ſloth, neglect of neglected carelesness, love to appear as unhandſome as may be, and contrary to the uſual faſhion: now it was accounted a handſome thing, (and ſo it was the cuſtome too) among the Greeks, for women to wear their hair long, and the men to wear it ſhort. But how is it then that in [b] *Terence* there is mention made of a Woman in mourning with long hair?

[b] In Heaut. act. 2. ſ. 3.

Capillus paſſus, prolixus, circum caput
Reje&tus negligenter.

CAP. XXVI.

De ritu Lugendi in funere.

WHen any diſaſter befell ſuch as were neer of kin unto them, ἀσχημοσύνη, (as it being a time for ſadneſs, they forbare to drink any Wine, (which hath a property to make men glad) and confined themſelves to that which the Scholiaſt calls ἄλφιτον χυλισθὲν, a Barley-mash, (Ale it's like.) But ſorrow muſt be more than negative: and therefore, Firſt, they uſed to tear their cloths and their hair, after the manner of the Hebrews, and ſometimes to fling their Vailes in the fire, (not in health, but in ſobs and ſighs) as it is in *Rheſus*.

Eurip.

Καὶ συμπρῶσαι μέλαν πέπλων χλιδῶν.

2. To throw their faces in the duſt, or the duſt in their faces, as the Romans did after them.

Ovid. Met. l. 8. fab. 9.

Pulvere canitiem genitor, vultuſq; ſenilis
Fœdat humi fuſus —

Or ſometimes aſhes, as *Achilles* did, when he mourned for the death of *Patroclus*, and the *Argive* Women for the death of their Sons at the Leaguer of *Thebes*.

Eurip. Supp. v. 826.

—σποδὸν ἐπὶ κρατὸς
κόνιν τε χαμαὶ —

3. Κόπτεσθαι (which is uſed for πενθεῖν) to beat their breſt and their thighs, and cut and teare the fleſh like a Jew: as one ſaith

Smyrnæus.

[a] In Hel.

Making ſtreaks and furrows with their nailes in their faces, as *Euripides* uſes the word ὀνυξὶν ἠυλακίσμεθ'.)

b in Avib. 4 To drain, and draw out at length, and repeat the interjection ἆ, ἆ, ἔ, ἆ, and from hence (if we may believe the Scholiaſt upon b *Ariſtophanes*) comes the word ἀλαλαγμὸς to be uſed for a long of lamentation *viz.* ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀλάζειν.

But at a Funeral, ſo immoderate were they (eſpecially the Women) in theſe and the like expreſſions of ſorrow, that *Solon* was fain to make this Law of purpoſe to reſtrain them, Cicc. o de Legib *Mulieres genas ne radunto, neve leſſum funeris ergô habento, let no Women,* &c. Their cuſtoms they uſed at ſuch times were theſe. Firſt, when they came forth of the houſe (and not onely at the grave) every one lop'd off a lock of his hair, and it is noted by the a *Tragedian* for a very ordinary practiſe; a Eurip. Alc. v. 100. where he ſhews how it could hardly be believed, that *Alceſtis* was indeed buried, as they ſayd ſhe was, becauſe neither the pot of Holy water, nor ſo much as a lock of hair could be ſeen at the door, as they were wont to be.

Καίτοι τ' ἔης δὴ πάροιθε τοιαῦ —
Θ, ὃ δὴ νεκύων πίνυσι πυρσὸν

2. As they went along with the corps, they keep their head cloſe covered, and their faces, as other people do. And therefore *Oreſtes*, when he bid *Electra* leave mourning, ſaies he See Eſther c. 6. v. 12. and Jer. c 14. v 3.

—ἀνακάλυπτ' ἤδη πρόσγηθες ὄμμα
Ἐκ δακρύων τ' ἀνόρθιαζ'—
Be uncover'd, &c.

In the like manner *Theſeus* (as it is in another b Tragedy of the ſame Poet) when *Adraſtus* came to petition his help κατηφὴς χλανιδίοις, all bemuffled and covered in the habit of a Mourner, ſaid to him

b In Suppl. v. 100.

Λέγ' ἐκκαλύψας κρᾶτα μὴ πίσυνος γέων.

They uſed likewiſe to lay their hands on their heads (as we do our beards upon our hands) So c *Helen* ſaies of the Trojans c Id. Hel. v. 376.

Ἐπὶ θ' ἡμῖν κρατὶ χέρας ἔθεσαν.

3. Their manner of *going*, was to tread as ſoftly as they could with their feet, and make no noiſe with their tongues (I mean the

the rest of the company, and not those which they got for the purpose to weep).

Σίγα, σίγα λεπτὸν ἴχνος ἀρβύλης
Τίθητε, μὴ κτυπεῖτε, μηδ' ἐμπατεῖτε.

Saies the *Chorus*. In the book of [a]Kings, 'tis said that *Ahab* lay in Sackcloth וילך and went *softly*, and so [b]*Isaiah* saies, *I shall go softly all my years in the bitterness of my soul* אשרה though I know some Translations render it otherwise.

a 1. Reg. 21. v. 27
b c. 38. v. 15.

4. When they come to the place of burial (for I mean to end the Mourning first, and then to come to the rest) they would cut off all the best locks of their hair (πλόκαμον or βόστρυχον) and lay them on the grave, or cast them into the fire. And this they called πλοκὰς τέμνειν and κομᾶν τομάς (as it is in *Aristophanes*) or λοιμὸν θέσθαι τινὶ (as in *Euripides*) or τὸν ἐπίκομον χλιδὴν (as in *Sophocles*) or ἀντὶ χαίτης κόμης (as it is every where.) All their *best locks* I said, for I remember how *Electra* in *Sophocles* was very angry with *Helen* for dealing πανούργως *deceitfully*, and hiding the best of her hair to save it at the burial of *Clytemnestra*, for indeed ἔδει γὰρ αὐτὴν κατ' ἀλήθειαν θρηνοῦντας πάντα πλόκαμον τεμεῖν, *they should cut it all*, saith the Scholiast upon that Poet: who in another place has given a reason or two for the action, viz. First to make them seem squallid, cateiffe, and contemptible; whereas locks Ἀφορμὴ ἡ εὐαλωτοποιὸν εἶναι ἐχθροῖς, are used for ornament, and *Spruceness*, as being τινὰ κόσμον, (as I may say) the *Luxury of the hair*.) Then, 'tis known that the Greeks were κομήτην and used to wear their hair long: μόνοι γὰρ οὗτοι τὸ ἐπίκομον ἐφόρουν, saies the Scholiast, both to *please their friends* and *to fright their enemies*. Nay they took such a *pride* in having it so, (calling themselves Ἀκρωνύχους, and such as cut it too short κουρίτας (that κομᾶν signifying to wear hair long, has been used to signifie to be *proud*.

III. 8.

2ly ἵνα διὰ ταύτης τὰς ἐκείνων ψυχὰς εὐμενεῖς σχῶσι, *to get the good will of the deceased party, and the Manes*. Some again say it was done by none but a Parent, or a Foster-father, or Mother by the way of thanks for their education, and so they call'd it θρεπτήρια ποιεῖν, ἀντιπαθεῖν τὰς ἀποτροφάς. But why

d II. 1.

then

[a] Paſſan. than ſhould *Hercules* do it to *Deſtruus*, he who was but his *Ganimede*. Laſt of all, during the whole time of Mourning for the dead (which *Lycurgus* confined to the ſpace of eleven daies) the Women were not to wear any [a] Jewels, neither was there to be fire or Candle-light (which two at firſt were but one thing, *viz.* [b] Wood for heat and light too.) [a] Lycophr.

[b] Vid. Suid. in σφυκτὸς & Heſych. in καλὸς. Σφυκτὸς δὲ πῦρ ἐπὶ ξύλων, ſaith an old Gloſſe, and to this cuſtome ſome do refer that in the Satyriſt.

Pallant pedores, &c.

Juven. Sat. 3. —— *tunc adimus ignem.*

If the mourning were for a publick calamity, all the *Paleſtræ*, and *gymnaſia*, muſt be ſhut up, together with the Baths and the Shops, and the temples themſelves. But it is time to return to the Corps, and ſee it buried as ſoon as I can, for fear of giving offence (as I told you before.)

CAP. XXVII.

De viâ per quam efferebatur corpus, & de loco ſepulturæ.

THis ordinary way by wch the corps was carried was the gate called Ἱερεῖαι, ſo called becauſe they led to the ἱερὰ, the *Graves*, or the *Common place of burial*. This gate is ſometimes called [b] ἱεραὶ πύλαι, *ſacræ portæ*, whether in oppoſition to the πύλαι ἀνοσιώδεις (in *Plutarch*) or the κατάντης πύλη (you may render it the *Gates of Hell*, in the Scripture phraſe, or *Scelerum porta* as the Romans do) by which they dragged the Malefactors, I am yet to ſeek: for Malefactors were to ſuffer death without the Gates, as no others were to be buried within. It ſeems they thought the dead by Law, and the dead by nature alike unclean, and ſo took the like care to avoid the contagion of either. [b] Theoph. n. Avaiδ. & Pollux.

The place of burial in ancient times for a King, or a Prince, was wont to be the foot of a hill, (to ſhew that he might not be a *Mountain* [a] for ever) according to that in *Lycophron*. [a] Kings & Princes are ſo called in Scrip. as in Iſaiah 42. 15. &c.

Τεμὼς

Τύμβος ἦ τάφος τοῦ Κύκνου τοῦδε τόνου.

Or that of *a Virgil.*

—fuit ingens Monte ſub alto a Æn. 11.
Regis Dercenni terreno ex aggere buſtum.

Aurelius ſaies of King *Aventinus Sylvius*, that he was *ſepultus circa radices Montis*, *cui ex ſuo nomen dedit*, unleſs you will ſay that thoſe *Montes* were nothing but *that* in a larger ſieze, which *tumuli* were in the *diminutive*: and ſo the hills muſt be made by the burier, as * *Lucan* ſaies Lib. de Orig. Gent. Rom.

Et Regum cineres extructo monte quieſcant. L. 8.

But for men of a lower rank, till the daies of King *Cecrops*, it went no higher than a Pit or a Cave, according to that of *Theognis*

—κατὰ κεῦθεα γαίης
Βὴς πολυκωκύτους εἰς ἀΐδαο δόμους.

'Tis true, that in after times there were two common Church-yards (as I may ſay) appointed for the purpoſe, called by the name of οἱ Κεραμεικοὶ, *Potters fields*, ἡ μὲν ἔσω ἡ δὲ ἔξω τοῦ τείχους, one within the Walls, and the other without. *Ariſtophanes* in his *Ranæ*, calls them τὰς πομπὰς, the *Burials* or the *Burges*. That burial place within (otherwiſe called Δημόσιον σῆμα by *Thucydides*) was for thoſe that made an honourable end in the Field for the good of the *Commonwealth*: the manner whereof I ſhall mention perhaps in another place. The outer *Ceramicus* was diſtinguiſhed into ſeveral fields, and incloſures. And therefore we ſhall read that ſometimes cloſe to the Gates, ſometimes by the way ſides, according to that of *Hector* in * *Euripides*. In Rheſ. v. 880.

—παρὰ πύλας
Θάλλειν καλλίστοις λαοφόρους ὁδοὺς ἐν ἕρκεσι.

CAP. XXVIII.

De Corporis crematione.

NOw for the uſage of the bodies: when they came to the place of burial, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Homer*, τὸ σωλεῦν τὰ σώματα πρότερον ἐφύλαττον ἐπειδὴ διὰ τὸ ἀπίστασθαι γίνεσθαι Il. A.

ἀπ, εἰδ' ἐπιθάπτειν, τὸν γῆν, the cuſtome was at firſt to burn them, according to that of *Quintilian. Declam.* 10. *Animus quaties exoneratus membris mortalibus leviſſimus ignis inſiluerit petere ſedes inter aſtra.* And the reaſon was, ſaies that Scholiaſt, *becauſe by this means the body might preſently conſume all away to nothing.* But that cuſtome I know not for what reaſon was not ſo well liked by other people, inſomuch that the *Magi* among the * *Perſians*, though it *ἀσεβεῖν, a thing moſt prophane* (I feare me more for the *Fire* than any thing elſe) and therefore at length it came to be leſſe uſed, ſo as ſometimes they would burn them, and ſometimes onely cover them with earth. Which is enough to prove, that there is no neceſſity that τύμβος a *Grave*, ſhould come from τύφω, τύπτω, *to burn*, as the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes* would have it. But for ought I can find even in after times, among the Greeks, burial by burning, was ſtill eſteemed the more honourable and ſtately way of the two: as may appear by their unwillingneſſe to have it common; for they denied the uſe of it, Firſt to Infants. 2. To ſuch as kill'd themſelves. 3. To ſuch as were killed with Lightning or *Fulgoribus ſtruck with the Planets* (as we ſay) who were to be buried there where they died, or at leaſt in ſome peculiar place apart, as we do thoſe that Hang themſelves, or the like. And thus *Capaneus*, whom the *Athenians* ſtoned to death, as he was ſcaling the walls (a thing invented by him, as ſome report) becauſe they imagined him to have been ſhot to death by *Jupiter*, muſt needs be buried χωὶς ſeorſum, ſo *Adraſtus* ſaies in *Euripides*,

Η χωὶς ἰέναι, ὡς πεπρὸν διὰ Διὸς βέλεσι.

And laſtly to Traytors: on whom they were loath to beſtow any Burial at all. Inſomuch that *Themiſtocles* having been dead long before in *Magneſia*, the Athenians in time of a peſtilence, though they had expreſſe command from the Oracle, to fetch his bones and bring them to *Athens*, could by no means be permitted by the Magiſtrates to do it, in regard he had deale with *Artaxerxes* to betray their Country, and therefore having obtained fifty daies time to celebrate his Funeral, as the faſhion was (as I may ſay) *in his picture*, having

Diog. l. 1. cent. l. 18.

having erected a Tent, closely conveyed thither his bones, and hid them in the ground. The Original of this Law the Scholiast upon *Homer* fetches from *Hector*, who in the time of the siege of *Troy*, threatned whomsoever he found leaving his place treacherously in the fight, to kill him himself, adding withall.

——ἢ γὰρ τόγε
Πυκτοῖς γυμνάζει πυρὸς κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἑταίρου.

Upon which words you have this Scholy. Ἐντεῦθεν νόμος ἐγένετο μὴ διαφέρειν, ἢ τὴν νομοθετήσαντα αἰτιᾶσθαι. *Hence came the Law*, &c. But I must tell you after all this, that however *burning* & *burying* are so neer in their sounds they have been far enough distant in their being; at least in some Countries. For at *Rome* it was not used in *Macrobius* his time. Among the *Greeks* indeed it may be rather thought to have been discontinued onely upon dislike, than not to have been begun when it was not used. For one of them (I know not his name) thinking the fire (which they esteemed pure and holy) to be polluted by the dead body, which it was to purifie, is reported by a Scholiast upon *Homer*, to have cryed aloud to *Prometheus* with these words, Ἔ πάτερ, βοήθουν, κλέψον τὸ δυνατὸν ἐκ πάλιν τὸ πῦρ. *O pray carry the fire back again where you had it.* The first that ever gave example in this kind, is reported to be *Hercules*; Who desiring of *Liegmius* to send his son *Argius* to help him in the war with *Laomedon* for the horses, engaged himself by an oath, to see him home safe to his Father again; but the Son being killed in the War, he took him and burnt him, and carried his bones to his father, σοφίζόμενος αὐτόν, *putting a fallacy upon him*, as if he had his son indeed; when there was nothing left but the bare bones. And yet he used him better than *Cynirus* K. of *Cyprus* did *Menelaus*, who, having promised him fifty ships with men, sent him one true ship, and poped him along with ships and men made of clay for the rest. The story is likely enough, but he that told me said he did not believe it, and therefore leaving the argument of an example, gives a reason or two of the use of the custome, either because πᾶν * χ. Hom. Il. A.

νεκρὸν ἀκάθαρτον, every dead thing is impure, and so it had need to be purified: and the rather by fire, because it was commonly used to such a purpose as being καθαρτικὸν, able to make that pure and chast, which before was adulterated with *Heterogeneous* abasements and alloys: whence *Euripides* saies of *Clytemnestra's* body πυρὶ καθήγνισαι. Or else to shew, how the divine and purer part of the man is carried in the fire, as in a Coach to be joyned in society with the gods above, τὸ μὲ θεῖον τῶ ἀνθρώπω ἀναπεμπόμενον ὅσον τὸ χωρὸν τῇ πυρὶ (how neer this goes to expresse the fiery Chariot of *Elias*) ἁρμόζει τοῖς ἱππείοις. Which Princes had no need of, if they could be carried upon *Eagles wings*: as I shall tell you anon. Thus *Scylla* in *Lycophron* is said ἀναπλῶσαι, *to be made again* by the fire, and so to become ἀθάνατος, as he calls it. Thus the naked Sophisters of *India* πυρίκαυστοι used to burn themselves into that immortality, which they desired of *Alexander*, when he put them to ask what they would.

Ib. χ.
Cic. Tusc. Q. L. 5.

CAP. XXIX.

De ritu Cremandi, sive comburendi corpora. De loculo & reliquiis.

THis manner of burning, was to make a pyle of wood, and having laid the corps on the top, to set it on fire, according to that of *Homer*, where he speaks of *Hector*.

Il. ω. Ἐν δὲ πυρὴ ἐκάητο, δὸν θεσπέσιον δὲ μέγαλον πῦρ.

The wood was not alwaies of one sort. But sometimes Oak, as in * *Euripides*, where you shall read of καμπὰς δρυὸς, *Oaken billets*, at the funeral of *Hercules* his children. Sometimes Olive, as in *a Sophocles*. And sometimes Pine, as in *Athenæus*: unlesse shall I say, that he confined the use of it to the burial of Virgins. If the party had lost his life in shipwrack, I have read that they made the fire of the planks of the ship,

Here. Fur. v. 241.
a In Trach. b. L. 15.

—ut corpus sepeliret naufragus ignis.

Ea-

Et collecta Regum fuerunt fragmenta Tarquinii. Manili. l. 4.

Thus to burn the bodies they called it [illegible], and the *Bone-fire* it ſelf [illegible].

All the while it was burning, the mourners ſtood round about the Bone-fire, and prayed to the Winds to blow, (for ſo *Achilles* in *Homer* is ſaid to have done at the burning of *Patroclus*), to make it burn the better. Nor to put the careleſs (ſurely) but themſelves out of the paid. If there happened to be a very ſtrong wind juſt as the fire, they embraced it, as an excellent good omen. There was Κῆρυξ, a *Bell-man* there ready to keep off any that ſhould offer to meddle with the bones. *Oſſa ne legito*, ſaies the Roman. When all was burnt to the Bones, the next of the kin quenched the fire with red Wine. And after, they [illegible] they [illegible] in a heap. The bones they took and waſhed them in water brought in χύτραι, pots for the purpoſe, by the [illegible], (women appointed for that work, and for bringing Milk, and ſuch other things as they uſed in the [illegible]) and having anointed them with ointments, and the fat of a Sow, they wrapped them in fine linnen, and put them into a coffin which they called [illegible] or [illegible]. Il. ψ. Etym. Magn.

[illegible] Il.

The veſſel, whatſoever it was, is in *Lycophron*, called [illegible], as if it were a Pot: and in [illegible], as if it were wont to be *gilded*: and in *Plutarch* [illegible] were wont to be ſtone, methinks it may be called a coffin, for I read it was uſually made of Wood, of *Cedar*, which is longeſt a rotting, and is therefore called [illegible] *the life of the dead*. Indeed whether it were ordinary to have ſuch Coffins, or only for thoſe that had *Sepulchra*, and Vaults of purpoſe under ground to ſet them in, I cannot well tell. But that there was ſuch a thing, and that it was made of Cedar, the word Κίστη, uſed ſometimes for the cheſt it ſelf does ſeem to declare in thoſe words of *Admetus* deſiring to lye with his Wife in the *Grave-bed* too. Idyl. 4. In Numa. Eurid. Alc. vv. 365.

Εν τάφου αὐτῆς κἀμὲ συγκλῄσας κτέν[illegible]

Σὺν

A wish not unreasonable, seeing the thing desired was so usual both among the Greeks and the Romans too. St. Austin hum Mosheh was of the same mind: for why?

(Ovid. Met. l. 4. fab. 2.

Quæ etenim mater, quos bene nosse fuerit
Compositi tumulo non ossibus hostis inesse.

The Athenians indeed seldom put above one man's bones in the same coffin: but the Romans many times four, five. *Pausanias*. The bones which they kept, because they were that which the fire left, were called *Reliquiæ*. *Reliques*. And they were thus kept saith the Scholiast upon *Euripides* in *Orest.* ἵνα μὴ ἐχθροὶ ἔχωσι, &c. least they should be exposed to the rage of the deadly enemies. If the party were burnt in a foreign Country, his bones or his ashes were carried home in the Coffin, and pompously showed and adorned with garlands in every place they came to, according to that of *Ovid*.

Ossa tamen facito parvo referantur in urnâ,
Sic ego non etiam mortua frater ero.

Vetus Glos. When they came where there were croſſe wayes, those that were of kin to the party, kept *Compitalia* feasts, [illegible]

After they had laid it up among the Monuments, they cited the party three times (twas a number very superstitiously used by all nations) to make his appearance,

Virgil. *Magnaque manes ter voce vocavi.* (But of this already.) Now the place where the Coffin was put, was a Sepulcher common to all the rest of the family, only such as proved a Recreant, were excommunicated by Law, and branded with the name of *Sylaon*.

* Diog. La.
* Harpocr.

CAP. XXX.

De Tumulo.

THe customes used in a cold burial were these; (and some of them used at a burning too: as the Sacrifice, the speeches, and the plaies.) The peculiar place of burial was usually

usually chosen before they died, & marked with a black stone, And when they came to be buried, a heap of earth thrown upon the body, ἐπὶ δὲ σῆμα Ἀχαιϊάδες &c. saies *Ulysses* (in *Hecuba Euripidis*,) agreeable whereto, is that phrase of the same Poet in another place τύμβ' ἔχειν τινός & the Latine word *Tumulus* a *heap* or a *grave*. But (I think) for the better sort, they made it higher, and a little handsomer with stones, somewhat after the fashion of our Tombs. For so *Theseus* told *Hercules*, the *Athenians* should honour his Corps τύμβοις καὶ λιθοσωρίαις. Whether earth or stones, it seems they desired to have it pressed, as near as might be, fast and smooth.

a Τύμβον πατὴρ ἔχωσεν saies the same Poet in *Alcestis*, and in *Helena* [illegible]. The posture which the body usually had in the grave, was with the face towards the East saies *Diogenes Laert. in Democrito*, towards the West, saies *Plutarch* and *Ælian*. On the stone which I mentioned was written the name and the condition of the party deceased, which they described commonly in verse. *Plato* was for just four Heroick verses and no more. Such Epitaphs they called προσηγορίας, because they made *known* the party: as the Romans did *Monumenta* and *Memoriæ*, because they made them *remembred*. And therefore the *Lacedæmonian* Souldiers, (saies *Justin*) used to put a *tile* or a *stone*, about their necks, to certifie of what condition they were, that in case they should die in the fields, they might have a Burial and a Monument according to their quality. Having thrown the earth upon him, the next work was to sacrifice, & pray that it might not lye too heavy. *Sit tibi terra levis*. Such a prayer as the Cilissa in *Euripides* used for *Alcestis*

Χθὼν ἐλαφρὰ πάσσοι, μητρὸς ἣ τάδε

Which prayer as they thought too great to be granted to a wicked fellow, or a coward, so they thought it too little to be denyed to another, and this made *Menelaus* confer for little to dye, for saies he

Εὖ γὰρ οἶδ' ἐγὼ

a Ibid. v. 836.
b Ibid. v. 999.
c V. 462.
d Kuster.
e Eurip. Hec. v. 877.

CAP. XXX.

De Infernis.

THE manner of sacrificing to the Infernal Gods, or the Gods of the dead (for *infernum* or ἄδης or ᾅδου is a place for all alike) was nothing at all such as the Altar (βωμὸς) (per chance to get the nearer to them) according to that practice in *Ovid*.

Haud procul egestâ scrobibus tellure duabus
Sacra facit.

Metam. Odyss. 11.

The Victime then slain, was either a barren Cow, as *Homer* sayes ἀπήνευρον βοῦν, ἶν' ἐπὶ κρέα ἔδμεναι ἄμμι. And *Virgil*,

a Æn. 6.

—Sterilemque tibi Proserpina vaccam.

Or else a black sheep, such as the old fellow *Tant* slain at the grave of *Agamemnon*.

b Eurip. Electr. v. 513.

Λευκὸν ἐπ' αὐτὸς ἄρνα μελάγγαιον τάφῳ
Σφάζειν ἐκέλευσε—

And such as *Seneca* speaks of, *Nigro libantes vellere, &c.* The reason why they made choyce of this colour, was either because it suited best with *mourning*; or because it was to the *black gods* of the *dark*: For as *Arnobius* sayes, *Diis lævis sedes habitantibus infera color furvus est gratior.* Afterwards it rose to an Ox, till it was forbidden by *Solon*. Whether it were Sheep or Bullock, or Hog; as it was best, if it were a splaid or a barren female: so it might not be Ram nor Bull, nor Boar, &c. τὸ μὴ γονιμαῖον θῦσαι, or γονιμον ἀνδρὸς, ἢ γονιμου θηλείας, sayes the Scholiast; and that for the same reason (as he saith) for which at the same time they offered down both their haire, and the Bristle haire of the Beast, which grew upon his fore head, ἀπαρχὰς, viz. ὅτι ψυχαὶ τὸ ζῷον ἀποτίθενται, that they might not give the *dead*, either that which had life in it selfe, or that which could beget it in another

c In Oedip. v. 556.

L. 7.

Plut. in Sol.

Hom. Il. λ.

another thing. Those *locks*, or briſtle haires, are in a peculiar manner termed *ἀπαρχαὶ*, and the offering thereof, *ἀπαρχή*, as in these words.

Ἀπαρχόμενος τῶν τριχῶν. Il. ξ.

Thus rendred in the words of *Virgil*,

Et ſummas carpens media inter cornua Setas
Ignibus impoſuit.

Yea not only the beaſt which they ſlew, but all the reſt which they ſuffered to live, in the time of a publique funerall, came under the hands of the Barber, as well as the men: As appears by the practice of *Mardonius* and his Army, reported by *Herodotus*, to have trim'd their Horſes and Bullocks, and all at the funeral of *Maſiſtius*. In the like manner *Alexander* at the funeral of *Hephæſtion* deals with the Horſes and the Mules, and the walls themſelves of the town of *Echatane* ſetting (as *Ælian* has it) ſhaving them ὡς ἐγγύτατα τῆς γῆς *close to the ground*. Anid, I remember, in *Euripides*, *Admetus* deſiring to celebrate his Wifes funeral in the beſt manner that might, by giving order for the Coach horſes maines to be ſhaven,

[illegible]

Then beſides the victime, they had λοιβαὶ *Libationes*, which was uſually *Hony*, and *milk*, and *wine*, to which they added Cakes, if the tranſlator render it aright [illegible] In *Euripides*, the manner of doing their liquors, was firſt to go round about the grave, & powre out ſome, as they went, out of the bottle which he ſayes [illegible] and then to ſtand on the top, and do it there too, ſayes *Sophocles* ſayes [illegible] that they offered that uſed certain ſpeeches to the party deceaſed, ſuch as that was

Ἔλθοι δ' ἀγαθὴ [illegible]

Together with prayers to the gods & the ghoſts of the dead to be propitious to them. And therefore theſe [illegible] ally termed ἱλάσκεσθαι, and ἱλασμοὶ, and [illegible] they made choice of the moſt proper liquors, to ſweeten and ſupple them. Such a prayer is that in *Euripides* the

a Id Alceſt. v. 439.

b Hel. v. 554.

Id. in Elect. v. 513.

ghoſt of *Achilles*, ὁ πάντων ἐμοὶ ἐπιτάφιος στέφανος, ὅδε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ κρατῶν τύμβος, &c.

Thoſe Sacrificing offices were eſpecially to be performed by the Kinred too (as moſt of the reſt were) and therefore *Caſſandra* ſetting forth the ſad condition of the Leagures at *Troy*, and their friends at home, ſayes ſhe, *Their Parents having thus bereſt of their children in the Siege*,

——*ipſi neque matres*
Fortes ſunt aras inter Iunonis
——no body have
Eqles a victime blood upon their grave.

CAP. XXXII.

De Coronandis tumulis, & de Phyllobolia.

BEſides all this, there muſt be Garlands laid upon the grave too, as there were before upon the hearſe and the corps. And this action they called στεφανοῦν τὸν τάφον, and the Garlands themſelves στέφανοι and θρόμβοι, peculiar names of the former, as being not only ἐκ κάλυκος, made of a *Collation* or a *Collection* of all ſorts of flowers gathered together, but alſo made to be ſhown and ſeen upon the *Herſe*. Sometimes indeed they made thoſe Garlands of nothing but the flowers of Dill, (which διὰ τοῦτο ἀνήθινοι) and then the Garlands were called ἄνηθα. And this may be ſometimes of *Smyrn.* & *Apium* is there occaſion to think from the ſtory of *Timoleon*, who when he was to fight with the *Carthaginians*, there met him by chance Mules laden with this *Apium*. The Souldiers being affrighted therewith, becauſe of the uſe which they knew to be made of that herb in funerals, hence the proverb of one that is deſperately ſick, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνήθοις, *that he muſt of neceſſity be ſet a-cooking for the Dill*. But he told them, *Men no more make uſe of the herb Dill for ſalads to their ſouldiers, and therefore an omen of victory, for there is uſe of the herb, when a man has won the beſt on't, as well as when death has given him the maſt.* The firſt beginning of this cuſtome is by *Philoſtratus* (ἐν ἡρωϊκοῖς) attributed

all. lib. 2. c. 5.

tributed to the *Thessali*, when they did it to the grave of *Achilles*. The reason of it, saies *b Clemens*, was to expresse the quiet condition of the dead, and their freedome from care and trouble, ἀπραγμοσύνης καὶ ἀμεριμνίας σύμβολον. But I rather think with the Scholiast upon *Euripides*, as I have formerly told you, that they intended it ὡς τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἀποθανόντας τοῖς ζῶσι νόμιμον, to honourable dead as they use to do the living, when they won the *Game*. For the same reason, doubtlesse, was it that they did στεφανοῦν (as they called it) fall a throwing of boughs and leaves upon the grave: as *Euripides* sayes, they did to *Polyxena* when she dyed (for in latter times, if a man had won a race or the like, they had a custome to bedeck his valiant Corps with boughs and leaves) you have it done by an old Fellow in *a Euripides* with Myrtle.

b Pedag. l. 11. c 8.

a Elect. v. 510.

——τύμβον δ' ἀμφίθακε μυρσίναις.

Whether was there any allusion therein to the *golden bough* or no? I think not; but if you will, you may read more of that bough in *Virgil*, and in *Servius* his notes upon him: It seems that in *Italy* they had the same custome. For saies *b Varro, ad Sepulchrum ferunt fundos*, they *carried Flowers to cast upon the dead*. And that they took the pains to make Garlands too, will appear by those words of *Min. Felix* to *Octavius, Coronas etiam sepulchris denegatis &c.* may *Aliquando pane etiam humano*, saies my Author, they came to want what they had more to spare.

Æn. 6.

b L. 6. de L. L.

CAP. XXIII.

De Columnis de Oratione, & Laude funebribus, & de Aquilis.

Either upon, or close by the grave, they were wont to erect a Pillar, the height whereof was not to be above three cubits by the Law, To the Pillar sometimes they added, either the Image of the party, or of somewhat else to resemble him. Thus *Diogenes* was honoured with the Image of a dog, for being a *Cynick*; and *Isocrates* with the Image of

a Syren, for being at *Orcus*. And it plainly cuts in mind of *Admetus* his over-constant love to his wife, when he would get her Image curiously made, and have it lye in the bed with him in her place, for so he tells her.

Σοὶ δ' εἰκὼ τεύξω λέκτρων ἐπιβήσομαι ἐμῶν
Ἔν τε δόμοις καὶ λέκτρον ἐπιστορέσω χροΐ πέπλους.

The honour which they gave the dead in commending him, was either by private discourse at home at the least, or by a publique speech in the *Ceramicus*. Which speech, if the party dyed in a battel, was to be made by one appointed by the Magistrate, (ordinarily the Father or one of the Kin,) and that not only at the time of burial, but every year after: as *Cicero* saies, *In Popularibus orationibus vocat est Athenis laudari in concione eos qui in prælio sint interfecti: quæ fic probata est, ut eam quotannis, ut scis, illâ die recitari necesse sit.* Lib. de Orat.

The first that began this custome of making speeches, some say was *Pericles*, who made one upon the death of those that were slain in the *Peloponnesian* warr; and some *Solon*. But besides funeral speeches, they had funeral *plays* too, ἐπιτάφια, both the Play and the Feast, commonly go under the name of πόνοι.

After I have thus vexed you with a tedious company of sopperies practised by the unhappy people of those times, et rerum funerarium, when they should have more wit: what will you say, if I have that yet left, which will please you all as much, *viz.* That even they themselves for the most part esteemed those practises, both unprofitable to the dead, and vain and fooliſh in the living, as may appear in the words of *Hecuba* her self, or the * Poet for her.

Δοκῶ δ' τοῖς θανοῦσι δαψιλεῖς βροτῶν
Εἰ πλείων τις τάφος ἐπεσταλμένος
Κενὸν δ' ὄνειμα τοῖς θανοῦσι κεῖνος ἦν.

*Eurip. Troad. v. 1247.

I think it boots the dead the least of all,
How rich or poor they have their funeral,
Tis th' livings vanity for this to call.

Having thus disposed of the body, they returned home. For the Sonne, they take no care, unlesse it were a King or a Prince.

Prince, whose soules they imagined ὀχεῖσθαι to be carried into heaven upon *Eagles wings*: and therefore was it, that they were [a] wont to honour them with the pictures of Eagles. So at Rome when they buried an Emperour, they used to let fly an Eagle over the grave. In allusion to this *Lycophron* calls *Achilles* ἀετὸν an Eagle, because he carried about *Hectors* body in a Coach.

[a] Aretmid. l. 2. c. 30.

CAP. XXXIV.

De Lustratione Domus funesta, & de Parentalibus, &c.

BEing come home, they fell a purging and *Lustrating* the *house* with brimstone, and *themselves*, by going through the fire, or some other lustration; for there were several sorts thereof, and if I have leasure, I may chance to speak more of it. Thus I remember in the Poet, 'tis said they did to the Kings house, who was slain by *Hercules*: rounding the Altar with a Basket, and dipping the λαὸν in the holy-water, and I know not what more.

καὶ μὴν τὸ πάροιθεν ἐχθρὸς Διὸς
Καθαίρεσθ' εἶκον.

[*] Eurip. Here. F. v. 923.

After this they kept a feast, τὸ περίδειπνον *Silicernium*, or *circum potationem*, as the manner is with some of us. Those that were at it, were Garlands, as *Cicero* sayes, *quas inibant parentes convivium*. The colour of their apparrel was white: *& quis unquam cenavit atratus*, sayes [*] *Cicero* But how is it then that *Homer* makes *Thebis* to go all in black to *Jupiter* about the death of her Son So I remember *Admetus* in [*] *Euripides* bids them mourn for *Alceste*, ἐν μελαίναις πέπλων σολαῖς, in black: and *Nonnus* in *Theocritus* celebrated the funeral of *Adonis* κυανοστόλος in a *sky coloured gown*. Perchance they wore black no longer then till it came to the feast. This feast they renewed again; not only nine dayes after, when they called it ἔνατα, and thirty dayes after, when they called it τριακάδες (when they sacrificed to *Mercury*, that he might carry their soules to the *fields*) but also upon the day of his death ever after, calling

Odyss. 17. [*] In natalem. l. 24. [*] Alc. v. 427.

ing it τριτεῖα, and upon the day of his birth calling it γενεσία. The common name for all the feasts, or the common festivall for all the infernal rites, and for all persons, was Νεκύσια, usually kept in the Month of *Anthesterion*: as the *Parentalia* were by the Romans in the Month of *February*, *in quibus parentabantur manibus mortuorum*, when the kinred especially (*de parens*) did sacrifice both to the earth and the gods under it, and the ghosts of their Parents, or their Ancestors above it.

Of all these funeral rites that I have named, none that had been an enemy to the person deceased, might be suffered to bear any part: as appears by the words of *Electra* to *Chrysothemis* forbidding her to sacrifice,

Οὐδ' ἔστιν ἐχθρᾶς ἀνδὸς γυναικὸς ἰσάνεμα
Κτερίσματα——

Nor so much as come neer the grave. as *Ulysses* in *Sophocles* is forbid to do to the grave of *Ajax*. Nay such was *Sepulchralis sanctitas*, (saies *Tully*) that no *stranger* might be suffered to do it, for fear he *might* be an enemy. Moreover a law was made to forbid any one to take away from, or adde any thing more to the monuments, than what was already made.

And now it is high time to leave the body in the *Mouth* of death, (for so * *Homer* calls the grave,) to be *gnawn like a sheep*, by the never satisfied teeth of hungry ΑΙΔΗΣ. For Psal. 49. 14. πυθαίνεται he that is buried, and laid in a *Sarco-phagus* in the *belly* of the earth, is as properly said to be devoured, as what is devoured and inclosed in the stomack of a *Whale* or a *Vulture*, or any ravenous creature, is commonly said to be buried τυμβοδάκαι. For so the *Vultures* are called * νεκυοκομπαι, *living graves*. Nay the Metaphor is commonly made reach to men themselves, some of whom, even *their mouths are open sepulchers*, as well as the bellyes have been of others. As that of *Tereus* when he eat his Son.

* Il. ς. Hermog.

——Seque vocat bustum miserabile nati.

And of *Saturn* when he did the like. Nay being buried, and being devoured, have been counted so synonymous, that (as *Lactantius*

Lactantius ſaies) *Saturn* was thought to have been ſaid to have eaten his Sons, becauſe he buried them where they might not be ſeen. Well, it cannot be helpt, theſe great eaters, Death and the Grave are all mouth, & no ears, like the belly. There's no ſtopping nor filling their mouths. Ἄδης ἐν τῷ Κωμῳδεῖ, ſaies *Æſchylus*, *Pluto has no Altars*, He is inexorable, and therefore called ἄσπονδος in *Euripides*. Neither (ſaies a* Scholiaſt) was Death ever known to have an Altar but at *Gadira*, I know not where. Let us ſee therefore that his Wife be the more made of, now he is gone. L. 1. c. 13.

* On. Hom. Il.

His Wife, if ſhe ſeemed to be with child, was taken into the care & protection of the *Archon*, leaſt ſhe might be cunningly perſwaded to marry with whom ſhe ſhould not, and if any man offered to wrong her, the puniſhment was arbitrary. The children were committed ἐπιτρόποις to a *Tutor*. He that was ἐπίτροπος, to be overſeer or Guardian, was either not to be of kin at all, or elſe ſo far off, that if the child ſhould happen to die in his nonage, the inheritance could not fall to him. A Tutor was either by will, or by appointment of the *Archon*. Which way ſoever it were, he was κύριος τῶν (ſaies *Æſchines*) and had the managing of all the affaires, till they came to be twenty year old: and then either they themſelves, or any elſe that would, might ſue out δίκην ἐπιτροπῆς, a Writ *De Tutela adminiſtrata*, and have him before the *Archon*. But this muſt be done within five years after the Pupil came to be of age, or not at all.

LIB.

LIBER SEXTVS

De Supplicationibus & juramentis.

CAP. I.

De Supplicibus sacris, De Asylis & Aris.

SECTIO. I. HAving taken this care to see the Marriage of himself, the Education of his children, and the honourable Burial of his Body, it will be expected, that now I say somewhat in commendation of his condition, and concerning his manner of Life, either towards the gods, or towards Men. Of his carriage towards the Gods because there has been something already done in that kind, I shall not speak so largely; only a word or two, or more of the customs used in *Supplications* to, and in Swearing by the gods; and then I shall proceed to his actions towards Men, whether his friends in making merry with his equalls, and giving to the Poor; or his Enemies in waging of War. This Treatise, because of the diversity of subjects, I have divided into three severall Sections, the first of Supplication, called [illegible] them *Asylus*.

The person of a distressed Petitioner (as an abused slave, or the like) whether he addressed himself to men, or to the gods, but especially if to the gods, was to be lookt upon as sacred and inviolable, as appears by the Oracle, sent from *Dodona's* Vocall Forrest to the *Athenians*, related by *Pausanias*.

Φράζεο δ' Αχαιόντι πάγον Ομολίς τε δυσβάτους
Ενθμνίδων, ὅτι χρὴ Λακεδαιμονίων ἱκέτευσαι,
Δυσὶ πεζομένους, τοὺ μὴ σὺ κτείνῃς σιδήρῳ,
Μηδ' ἱκέτας ἀδικεῖν, ἱκὺ ἱερεῖ τε ἢ ἀγυιεῖ.

For if he came flying to such or such Altars as were appointed to be Asyla, none might touch him upon pain of exilement.

ment. And therefore is it that *Polydorus* in *Euripides* makes it such a ground for his confidence: saies he

—Βωμοὶ δ' ἐχάσι πλάκες πάρεξ; *The Altars are not far off.* So in another Tragedy, when *Helena* kept hanging upon the Bed for her refuge, *Menelaus* wondring thereat, *what* (saies he) *doth Altars want, or is it the Barbarian mode?* And no wonder *they* thus fled to Altars, or that *others* feared to meddle with, or to slay any body neer them: viz. Because they thought the blood would be upon them that should do it, yea though the Supplicants were already dead in the Law. For so the *Chorus* in *Ion* tells *Creüsa*, *the Law forbids any Petitioner to be put to death. True* (saies he) *but I must be killed by the same Law. No matter* (replies the Chorus) *sit fast, and if any one kill thee there,*

a Eurip. Hel. v. 805.

b Περσπόνιον αἷμα δήσεις, b Ib. v. 1248.

Thy blood shall be upon him.

Insomuch that a great many even among them seeing Malefactors thus protected from the *Law*, and consequently encouraged to the *transgression*, were bold to complain of this injustice of it, as you have *Ion* in the *Tragedy*, thus

Φεῦ λευκὰν γλ. θνητοῖς νόμος ὡς ἐ κτίσας
Ἔθηκεν ὁ θεὸς ἐδ' ἀπὸ χριμάτων σοφὸς,
Τὰς μ' ἀδίκους βωμὸν ἵκεσθαι ἐχεῖν
Ἀλλ' ἐξελαύνειν ἐδὲ δόμων πελάτην
Θεῶν πονηρὸν χεῖρα.

I said before, *such or such*: because 'tis thought that not any of the *Altars* or *Temples* had this priviledge, but only six, *viz. Misericordiæ, Minervæ, Eumenidum, Munichiæ*, and two of *Theseus* Temples, one within, and other without the Walls. The first of these some say was the first *Asylus* that ever was made, erected by *Hercules* his Grand-children, to preserve them from their enemies, according to that of *Servius ad Æn.* 8. *Postquam Hercules migravit è terris, nepotes ejus timentes insidias eorũ quos avus efflixerat, Athenis sibi primi Asylũ, hoc est, templum misericordiæ collocarunt, unde nullus posset abduci.* An example imitated by other people, almost in every Country. For they thought that otherwise a beast had a safer

condition than a man, ἀχὼ δὲ κατοικῶ, ὅπου μ' ἂν τύχῃ, ἀστὸν ἡγοῦμαι πᾶν. But is he now safe for ever? yes, unless they made a fire, and burnt him out of the hole, as we use to do Ecles. &c. And thus he in *Plautus* threatned to do.

In Rud. Act. 3. Sc. 4.

Ego Hercle aliquo quacritatum ignem.

Ignem magnum hic faciam.

and *Hermione* in *Euripides* to *Andromache* sheltring her self by the Altar of *Thetis*. Πῶς οὖν σε ἐκ βωμῶν ἄρω; on which the Scholiast thus, Ἐσθῆτι καμπτὸν τὸν ἱκέτην γενέσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἐκφοβῆσαι. &c. And yet all ἱκέται or Petitioners were not so afraid of a fire, as appears by the name of ἀστοὶ, which they have from flying to *hearths*, the place for the fire, for refuge: as *Themistocles* did, when being ostracis'd and banished, he fled to *Admetus* King of the *Molossi* for shelter. Otherwise none that fled thither could be so wicked, but they counted him worse that should meddle with him. Insomuch that those who killed the followers of *Cylon* (though they plundred the Temple of *Minerva*) because they killed them hanging on the Altars, were ever after themselves, and all their such *prophane* companions, after them, called ἀτιθάσσους, as who should say, *hinderers of supplication*. Prophane, I said, for it was no better than profanation according to the Poet, ἐστεμμένοι, the Garlands are *Polluted*.

Eurip. in Heracl.

CAP. II.

De tangendis genis, manibus, genibus.

PEticioners both to the gods and men, used to go with στέμματα, Garlands about their necks, or green boughs in their hands ἀνὰ κλάδους δενδρίων τινῶν, ὡς ἱκέτευον (saith the Scholiast on *Sophocles*) to beget respect, and amuse the beholders. Those green boughs are called by the several names of θαλοὶ, συκάμινος ἱκτῆρες, ἱκετηρία κλάδος, and sometimes ἱκετηρίαι, for *b Iphigenia* wanting them, told her Father she would make her own body supply the room thus,

a In Oedip.

b In Aul. v. 1216.

Ἐγὼ δὲ χέρας ἐξ ἐμῶν ὤμων

τὸ σῶμα περιῆπτον.

In those boughs they put wool, (as we do silk in posies) and so called them ἱκετηρίας, *supplicatory laurels.*

Λάινεα μεγίστῳ σωφρόνως ἐστεμμένον ἀγγεῖ ἐμοὶ — Æschyl. in Eum.

The wool was not ty'd and so fastned to the boughs, but onely wreathed and wrapped up in them: and (it may be) therefore it was that Æthra in the Tragedy of the *Theban women petitioners* (v. 23.) called it δορὸς ἄδετον φυλλάδ' & *The Tye without a knot.* The *Italians* used such boughs too, as it seems, for *Virgil* saies.

Jamque orantes aderant ex Urbe Latina
Velati ramis oleæ veniamque rogantes.

And *Livy* speaks of the like practice of the people of *Rhodes.* The boughs were either of *Laurel* or *Olive.*

c *Vittata laurus, & supplicia arbor Olivæ.*

First, because both those kinds are ἀνεμοβλῆτα *not subject to withering*, and therefore a *Euripides* gives the latter the Epithete of ἀκήρατος. 2ly. Because the Laurel was a sign of *prevailing*, and the Olive of peace and good will, as *Lactantius* saies *per quam pax petitur supplicando.* Now the custome was with those boughs, if they were doubtfull of prevailing, to touch but the *knees* of the man whom they petitioned, or of the statue of the God, just as b *Lucretia* did γόνατ' αὐτῶν ἁψαμένη. But if hopefull, the *hands* c ἐξιτάδες ἐμὰς χεῖρας ἔτεινον. And if confident, the *chin*, and the *cheeks*, ἐπὶ γένυς ἔβαλον. It is said by the Gommenor upon *Pindar* in his νιμ. (where the Poet desires to touch Æacus his knees, when he prais for a Gale of success for the Æginetæ) that when they desired the parties *consent*, they touched the head to have it *annuere*; when his help, his *helping* hand; when success, the knee. The last I know no great *reason* for, but *History* enough, even from the *Natural Historian* himself. *Hominis genibus quædam religio inest observatione gentium, hæc supplices attingunt, ad hæc manus tendunt, hæc ut aras adorant.* All his *reason* is, because of the abundance of spirits in the hollow of the knee, *fortasse quia inest iis vitalitas, quippe quorum inanitate fossa, seu jugulo, spiritus fugiat.* And therefore *Homer* makes the *Litæ*, the *Petitioners*

a Sen. Thebl. 1. 2 d In Ion. v. 1436.

a Dion. Halic. l. 4.
b Soph. Oed. T.
c Eurip. in Heracl.

petitioners Gods to be lame. As good as that of *Zenobius* ἐπὶ οἱ κεῖται τὰ πὶ γόνατα τὴν χεῖρα, ἃ νῦν εἰς γραμματεῖα χέονται, *because* Judges *had that upon their knees then, which now they write in their books.*

If the Petitioners were very fearfull, and the persons of very great quality, they would bow so low as to kisse his feet: as those did to *Cyrus*, κύσε κατὰ τὸν ἀγκῶνα ἢ χεῖρος ἢ εἵλατο. It was either this kisse, or a kisse of their own hand, which they anciently termed *labratum*. The *old glosse* calls it εἰλατὸν βασιλικὸν, ἢ ἀσπασμὸν βασιλικὸν. I have read of a kisse of the hand, when they did their reverence to the Gods, with putting the fore-finger over the thumb (perhaps upon the middle joynt, which they used in counting the number of ten) and then giving a turn on their right hand; as it is in *d Plautus*.

Quò me vortam, vereor. Si Deus fuisses, dextrorsum, censeo.

The safest place for a Petitioner to men too, as well as to the Gods (as I have already told you) was the hearth or the fire, whether they presently ran, when they came to any strange place in travel, or exilement, as to the onely Altar of the house, and the gods thereof. For according to that of *Cicero* in his oration for his house, *Nihil sanctius, nihil omni religione munitius, quàm domus unius cujusque civium. Hic ara sunt, hic foci, hic dii penates, hic sacra religionis cæremoniæ continentur: hoc perfugium est ita sanctum omnibus, ut inde abripi neminem fas sit.* When they had once seated themselves there in the ashes, in as mournful a posture as might be, they need not *open their mouths* for pity; neither was it the custome to do: For those *actions* speak loud enough; and an *eye* would serve for hearing.

Τὼ δ' ἄρα, ἓ ἄνακτα προσῆλθον ἐφ' ἑστίαν ἧσθαι.

This was the practice of *Ulysses* at the house of *Alcinous*, and of *Themistocles* at the house of *Admetus*; but so as first, by the instruction of the Queen, he took the Kings little son along with him for his guard; τοῦτο μεγίστω καὶ μόνω σωθῆναι παρὰ τοῖς Μολοσσοῖς, the only way *in use among the people to obtain a request.*

Xenoph. l. 4.

b In Curcul.

L. 4. Argon.

a Odys. 7.

Thucydid.

If they fled to the gods for refuge or for help, their fashion was first to crown the Altars with Garlands, and then to pray that their desires might be crowned with successe.

b Πάντας δὲ Σαμὲς, οἱ κατ' Ἀδμήτου δόμους
Προσῆλθε, κἀξίστατο, καὶ προσηύξατο
Πτέρυγων ἄνομα μυρσινῶν ἐρέβει.

b Eurip. in Alcest.

Their usuall gesture in praying, was to hold up their *arms* right toward Heaven, as c *Helen* saies

—ὀρθὰς ἀλόχους πρὸς ἔρεβος
Ῥιπᾶν δ'—

c Eurip. Helen. v. 1260.

But to wrest their *hands* as far as they could upon their wrests. According to that of *Æschylus*, where he saies of *Prometheus*, that though the gods had tyed him fast to the hill, his stomach was so great, that he said he scorned to submit or pray *manibus supinis*, with *bended hands* like Women and children: Γυναικείων ἀνακάμπτων χερῶν.

Now sometimes if they obtained their request, and it were a matter of consequence, you should have them relate it to the Priest of the Temple to be registred; or write it down in a Table, and leave it behind them, to shew for a testimony.

CAP. III.

De generibus, & locis sacrificiorum.

AND now we are in, let's even out with a little more of that which we have observed in reading, concerning their manner of serving their Gods. Their divine services in respect of the cause or occasion, were 1. ἐυκτήρια or χαιρήσια, *vota, free-will offerings*, services promised and paid for a victory, or the like,

—*Genua sacra parabat*
Vota Jovi.

Ovid. Met l. 9.

2ly. τὰ ἐπὶ μαντείας, *such as were imposed*, and *commanded by* an *Oracle*.

—Εὐσεβεῖν φασὶν ἢ ἐπὶ μαντείας τινὸς.

Sophoc. on Trach.

In respect of the object (that is to which of the gods they were

were formed) they were done either 1. ἐποχθονίοις to the *gods under ground*, and that ἐπὶ ἐσχάρᾳ in a ditch digged, or plowed up for that purpose. The Latines called it *Ara*, such as they used when they sacrificed to the *Heroes*, (for whom they had also Ἡρῶα, Temples and Plaies, and what not) together with the [a] Image of *Vulcan* made of clay, to set it forth. 2dly. Τοῖς χθονίοις, to the gods *upon ground*, much in the same manner. And 3ly Τοῖς ἐφορίοις, to the gods *above ground*, ἐπὶ βωμῷ, upon an Altar raised up high from the ground, which the *Latines* therefore called *Altare*, and the *Greeks* [b] ἔρκος ἱερὸν, and [c] γαίας ἔρκος, as if it were a *work*, *wall*, or *agger*, made up of earth cast up together. The distinction betwixt βωμὸς and ἐσχάρα, is set down by the *Scholiast* on [a] *Euripides* thus, Βωμὸς ἐστὶν *an Altar built up high with an ascent of several steps*: ἐσχάρα *is as it were one step it self, after the fashion of some hearths in the figure of a quadrangle.* (Just as they made their Λάκκοι [b] wherein they powred some oyle & wine and tempered it with the dust, to make cakes for the Divell) The occasion given them to make this distinction, was the word βώμιοι ἐσχάραι in the Author: whereupon he notes that ἐσχάρα was there used in a large sence, for the *hole*, τὸ κοίλωμα or the *concavitie* in the top of the βωμὸς for the fire. At the making of a βωμὸς (and so at the making of a statue to be worshipped) they had a custome ἐσθῆσιν ἑνημένων ποικίλας ἐπομωδίους for women in garments of severall colours, to carry about pots of severall sorts of boyled pulse, and offer thereof to the [b] gods.

[a] Schol. in Arist. in Avib.

[b] Soph. in Trach.

[c] Eurip. in Heracl.

[a] In Phœniss.

[b] Schol. in Arist. ho. h. Eccles.

[c] Schol in Aristoph. in Pluto

——πῶς χύτρας ὅτις ἐστὶν
Ἰδρυσόμεσθα, λαβὲ σὺ· δεῖ γὰρ κεφαλῆς φέρε.

They made it commonly of earth heaped together, and so it may be called χῶμα or *tumulus*, as it uses to be sometimes of ashes; sometimes of earth and blood tempered together; sometimes of stone, and sometimes of wood. For the figure, it was sometimes long, and sometimes square; but most often [d] κυκλοτερὴς round: as the Theatre, the market-places, and their Tables used to be. The places where they made their Altars, were usually *Mountaines* and *high-places* (so often objected

[d] Odyss. ρ.

jected to the heathenish Israelites) for according to the Scholiast upon these words of *Sophocles*, ὅπως ζηνὸς ὕψιστον πάγον &c. πᾶν ὄρος τῷ Διὶ ὁμοιάζειν ἐπεὶ ὑψίστῳ ὄντι τῷ θεῷ ἐν ὑψηλοῖς εἶναι τὰς θυσίας πρέπειν καὶ πρὸς αὐτόν, *every Mountaine was called by Jupiters name, or consecrated to Jupiter, because the god being in a high place, it was fit to sacrifice to him in a high place,* to be heard the better; as it was to the terrestriall gods in a low, to come nearer to them. Besides, the Altar in such a place, was the lesse in danger to be got up upon, and profaned, as being kept (as the same Scholiast saies) ἀβέβηλον καὶ ἄβατον. in Trach.

Thirdly, In respect of time, some do say that they sacrificed to the *Heroes*, [a] ἐν δυσμαῖς αὐγὴν *in the evening*; and to others in the morning. [a] Pindar. Isth.

Lastly, in respect of the matter or the thing sacrificed, it was either τῶν ζώων of *living* creatures, properly called θυσία, or else of things *without* life; and those either ξηρῶν dry, as corn and flower, or ὑγρῶν wet, as Wine, or Milke, or Hony usually called by the name of χοαί. The first *Pythagoras* could not endure, as thinking it unnaturall to kill any thing; and so was all for his ἀγνὰ δῶρα, wherein there was no blood, or ἄθυτα θυσία, (as *Thucidides* calls them) where there was no smoak, or [c] σπονδαὶ καὶ θυσία, where there was no wine. But every one else almost lik'd it too well, and no such glorious a businesse as an ὁλόκαυστος θυσία, *a whole burnt sacrifice*. Sometimes greater than a *Suovetaurilia*, and consisting of a Sow, a Bull, a Ramme, and a Goat: and sometimes but a τριττύς of a Sow, a Ramme and a Goat. I hardly believe they ever went so high as an hundred notwithstanding —πολλάκις ἑκατόμβαι. Out of every sacrifice one part went for a fee to the Prytanes, or Commissaries, unlesse they were robbed of their due: as it seems they were sometimes, by him in the Poet, threatning to complain of one that did so, [b] Schol. in Eurip.

[c] Suidas.

d Καὶ σὲ φασὶ τοῖς πρυτάνεσι
Δεῦρ' ἐλθόντα τὴν θυσίαν
ἀπαιτεῖν ἑκατὸν χιλίας.

d Arist. in Equit.

CAP.

CAP. IV.

De generibus & formulis jurandi.

* Hesiod. *Ep. ad Heb. 6. 16.

ὍΡΚΟΣ an *Oath*, (the son *of *Eris*, and yet the *end* *of *all contention*) was of two sorts, *viz.* ὁ μέγας, & ὁ μικρὸς, the greater and the lesse. The greater oath was either of men by the gods, or the gods themselves, by the *Stygian Lake*.

Idem in Theogon.

Αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' ὅρκον ἔθηκε θεῶν μέγαν ἐξαμέτρεαι ὕδωρ.

Which is the cause why some fetch the word ὅρκος *An oath*, from *Orcus Hell*. This Oath was then invented by *Jupiter*, and prescribed by him to the rest of the gods, when he had the assistance of *Styx*, and his sons against the *Titans*; or when he dranke of the water, to quench his thirst in the fight. *Servius* sayes (out of *Orpheus*) that if any god had sworne false, or broken his oath when he swore by *Styx*, he was to be punished for it in hell nine thousand yeares. Which order, even *Jupiter* himselfe submitted to, and therefore took the more care how he sware, as *Minutius* sayes, *Destinatam enim sibi cum suis cultoribus pœnam præscius perhorrescit*. He that swore either of these wayes was properly said to ὀμνύειν, and to yeild himselfe up to the mercy of those that were able to punish him, if he called them to witnesse that which was contrary to his *knowledge* or his *meaning*. So that sometimes it was the custome to adde an imprecation of some evill, wherewith he knew them able to punish him, if they swore false: As *Telemachus* does in *Homer*.

Οὐ μὰ Ζῆν' Ἀγάμνας, καὶ ἀλγεα πατρὸς ἐμοῖο.

By *Jove, and the sorrows of my Father*.

[a] In Elect.

The *Womens* oath was commonly by *Juno*, and *by my lady Diana*, as [a] *Clytemnestra* uses in *Euripides*, μὰ τὴν Δίκαιαν Ἄρτεμιν, much like the superstitious oath of *By my Lady*, among some of us. The gods, by whom the *men* were to sweare by the appointment of *Solon*, were three (or if you will, the *Jupiter* ὁ τρὶς with three names) *viz.* Ἑρκεῖος, Καθάρσιος, and Ἑξακεστήριος. For that *Jupiter* was the proper *Custos juramentorum*,

mentorum, (as I may call him) if it do not appeare, (as ſome ſay it does) in the word *jurjurandum*, *quaſi jovis jurandum*, it will ſufficiently be proved by the plaine teſtimony of the Poët, that ſaies, —Ζῆνα δ' ὀὐ ὄρκον
Θνατῶν τιμίας τυγχάνειν. Eurip. Med. v. 170.

But ſo farre were they from being contented to ſweare by none but *Jupiter*, that not only any *other* of the *gods*, but any of their own *men* lately dead, and thought to be defiled, did ſerve the turn: as when *Demoſthenes* ſwore by τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι, *thoſe that valiently died in the battle of Marathon.* Sometimes for over much haſte or confidence, or ſome ſuch reaſon, they left it to the party, to whom they ſwore, to chuſe any of the gods, whomſoever he pleaſed to be tryed by: in this manner, ὄμνυμι σὲ τινὰ τῶν θεῶν, as we ſay, *I le lay you what you will.* This forme you may find uſed in *Plato in Phædro*, and *Ariſtenetus* in his Epiſtle of [a] *Euxitheus* to *Pytheas.* Sometimes they ſwore by many gods together in the plurall number, without ſpecifying whom they meant. And ſometimes by all their *twelve gods*, (as the *Lacedemonians* did by *their two* τὼ Διοσκόρω, *Caſtor* and *Pollux*) [b] μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἅπαντας— by *the whole jury of the gods.* (neither honeſt, nor true; only they thought them to be *Majorum gentium*, of the higher houſe, and *Dees conſentes*, and ſo they put them together.) Other times again, they ſwore by this or that god in particular, to whom either the affaires they handled, or the place wherein they were, eſpecially belonged: expreſſing his name. For ſo in the Market in buying and ſelling, or the like buſineſſe, they commonly ſwore this Oath νὴ τὸν Ἑρμῆν, *by Mercury.* But then you ſhould have ſome that out of meer *deiſidæmony*, would ſay no more than μὰ τὸν Δία, *By Jove.* ἐυλαβείας χάριν ἐνδρυμαζόμενοι, with a [c] religious ἀποφοπεσις, forbearing to name the God. Hitherto you may reduce the *oath by an oath it ſelfe*, [d] μὰ τὸν ὄρκον, νὴ or μὰ with καὶ before it, in the Poets, was for an affirmative oath, and μὰ for a negative.

[a] L. 2. Ep. 2.

[b] Ariſtoph. Equeſt.

[c] Ariſtoph. in Ran.

[d] Pind. Nem.

a Swan, for being at Orcus. And it put me in mind of Admetus his over-constant love to his wife, when he would get her Image curiously made, and have it lye in the bed with him in her place, for so he tells her.

Ἔκειτο δ' ἐν λεχέσιν σὸν εἰκασθὲν δέμας
Ἵν' ἐν τοῖσδε κατθανοῦσα κρύπτοιμι σε.

The honours which they gave the dead in commending him, was either by private discourse at home at the least, or by a publique speech in the *Ceramicus*. Which speech, if the party dyed in a battel, was to be made by one appointed by the Magistrate, (ordinarily the Father or one of the Kin) and that not only at the time of burial, but every year after: as *Cicero* saies, *In Popularibus orationibus moris est Athenis laudari in concione eos qui in prælio sint interfecti: quæ sic probata est, ut eam quotannis, ut scis, illâ die recitari necesse sit.* Lib. de Orat.

The first that began this custome of making speeches, some say was *Pericles*, who made one upon the death of those that were slain in the *Peloponnesian* warr; and some *Solon*. But besides funeral speeches, they had funeral *plays* too, ἀγῶνες ἐπιτάφιοι. Both the Play and the Feast, commonly go under the name of πόσις.

After I have thus vexed you with a tedious company of fopperies, practised by the unhappy people of those times, in their burials, when they should have more wit: what will you say, if I have that yet left, which will please you all as much, *viz.* That even they themselves for the most part, esteemed those practises, both unprofitable to the dead, and vain and foolish in the living, as may appear in the words of *Hecuba* her self, or the * Poet for her.

Δοκῶ δ' ἔγωγε τοῖς θανοῦσι κἂν μικρὸν
Εἶναί τιν' ὄγκον καὶ τάφων περισσὰ νῶτα·
Κενὸν δ' ἔπαινον τοῦτο τῶν ζώντων καλῶ.

* Eurip. Troad. v. 1247.

I think it boots the dead the least of all,
How rich or poor they have their funeral,
Tis th' livings vanity for this to call.

Having thus disposed of the body, they returned home. For the Tomb, they take no care, unlesse it were a King or a Prince.

Prince, whose soules they imagined ὀχεῖσθαι to be carried into heaven upon *Eagles wings*: and therefore was it, that they were [a] wont to honour them with the pictures of Eagles. So at Rome when they buried an Emperour, they used to let fly an Eagle over the grave. In allusion to this *Lycophron* calls *Achilles* ἀετὸν an Eagle, because he carried about *Hectors* body in a Coach.

[a] Artemid. l. 2. c. 30.

CAP. XXXIV.

De Lustratione Domus funestæ, & de Parentalibus, &c.

BEing come home, they fell a purging and *Lustrating* the *house* with brimstone, and *themselves*, by going through the fire, or some other lustration; for there were several sorts thereof, and if I have leasure, I may chance to speak more of it. Thus I remember in the Poet, 'tis said they did to the Kings house, who was slain by *Hercules*: rounding the Altar with a Basket, and dipping the δαλὸν in the holy-water, and I know not what more.

Καὶ μὴν τὸ πάροιθεν ἱκέτης Διὸς
Καδάες', εἶκον.

[*] Eurip. Here. F. v. 923.

After this they kept a feast, τὸ περίδειπνον *Silicernium*, or *circum potationem*, as the manner is with some of us. Those that were at it, were Garlands. as *Cicero* sayes, *quas inibant parentes coronati*. The colour of their apparrel was white: *& quis unquam cœnavit atratus*, sayes [*] *Cicero* But how is it then that *Homer* makes *Thebis* to go all in black to *Jupiter* about the death of her Son So I remember *Admetus* in [*] *Euripides* bids them mourn for *Alcestis*, ἐν κελαινεφεῖ στολῇ, in black: and *Nonnus* in *Theocritus* celebrated the funeral of *Adonis* κυανοχλαίνῳ in a *sky colour'd gown*. Perchance they wore black no longer than till it came to the feast. This feast they renewed again; not only nine dayes after, when they called it ἔνατα, and thirty dayes after, when they called it τριακάδες (when they sacrificed to *Mercury*, that he might carry their soules to the *fields*) but also upon the day of his death ever after, call-

[*] Odys. 17. [*] In vatidium. ll. 24. [*] Alc. v. 427.

ing it νεκύσια, and upon the day of his birth calling it γενέθλια. The common name for all the feasts, or the common festivall for all the infernal rites, and for all persons, was Νεμέσια, usually kept in the Month of *Antheſterion*: as the *Parentalia* were by the Romans in the Month of *February*, *in quibus parentabantur manibus mortuorum*, when the kinred especially (*des parens*) did sacrifice both to the earth and the gods under it, and the ghosts of their Parents, or their Ancestors above it.

Of all these funeral rites that I have named, none that had been an enemy to the person deceased, might be suffered to bear any part: as appears by the words of *Electra* to *Chryſothemis* forbidding her to sacrifice,

Οὔτ' ἔσιον ἐχθρᾶς ἀνδρὸς ἰσάρας
Κτερίσματα—

Nor so much as come neer the grave. as *Ulyſſes* in *Sophocles* is forbid to do to the grave of *Ajax*. Nay such was *Sepulchralis ſanctitas*, (saies *Tully*) that no *ſtranger* might be suffered to do it, for fear he *might* be an enemy. Moreover a law was made to forbid any one to take away from, or adde any thing more to the monuments, than what was already made.

And now it is high time to leave the body in the *Mouth* of death, (for so * *Homer* calls the grave,) to be *gnawn like a ſheep*, by the never satisfied teeth of hungry Orcus. For Pſal. 49. 14. πμβενόμενος he that is buried, and laid in a *Sarco-phagus* in the *belly* of the earth, is as properly said to be devoured, as what is devoured and inclosed in the stomack of a *Whale* or a *Vulture*, or any ravenous creature, is commonly said to be buried πμβᾶσθαι. For so the *Vultures* are called * πολυσπερχνοι, *living graves*. Hermog. Nay the Metaphor is commonly made reach to men themselves, some of whom, even *their mouthes are open ſepulchers*, as well as the bellyes have been of others. As that of *Tereus* when he eat his Son.

—Seque vocat bustum miſerabile nati.

And of *Saturn* when he did the like. Nay being buried, and being devoured, have been counted so synonymous, that (as *Lactantius*

* Il. ϛ.

Whoredome; to have her make a formal oath of denyall, and having written the oath in a table, to ſtand in water up to the ſhinnes, with the table about her neck. If ſhe were chaſt, and had ſworne true, the water remained as it was: but if not, τὸ ὕδωρ ὀργίζεται (ſaies he) *the very water grows angry at it, and never leaves ſwelling, till it go up as high as her neck, and cover the table; leſt ſo horrid a ſight as a falſe oath, ſhould look the Sun and the World in the face.*

CAP. VII.

De perjurii religione.

IF a man made a conſcience of ſwearing aright, he was counted religious indeed, inſomuch that εὐορκεῖν was commonly uſed for εὐσεβεῖν, [a] In Plut.

Οὐδέ τις εὐόρκου χάρις ἔστ', ὅστις δίκαιος. in *Heſiod.*

and—εἰ τι χαίρουσ' εὔορκα πρᾶγματα. in *Ariſtophanes;*

Whereas on the other ſide, when they expreſſed a very wicked man, they made uſe of the word ἐπίορκος *perjuratus.* And therefore *Ariſtophanes* (*in nubibus*) ſpeaking of *Jupiters* lightnings and thunderbolts, which ſome ſaid, that they did more hurt to the *wicked* than to others, ſaies he, εἰπερ βάλλει γε τοὺς ἐπιόρκους, *if perjured men are only lyable to be ſtruck, how comes it to paſſe that Cleonymus and Theodorus eſcape ſo well? or that the poor Oake tree is ſo often hurt?* τὴν δρῦν ἐσθίουσι, *ſince it can never be perjur'd.* Such as were common and cuſtomary ſwearers, for ill making as well as ill keeping of oathes, were branded with the name of Ἐφήβοι from Ἔφηβος (ſaith *Heſychius*) the place where the oaths uſed to be adminiſtred. Now for the puniſhment of ſuch vile perſons, they ſuppoſed the furies every fifth day to have a viſitation, and to walk the round, for that purpoſe: according to that of [b] *Heſiod.* [b] Dieb.

Ἐν πέμπτῃ γὰρ φασὶν ἐείνυας ἀμφιπολεύειν.

Ὅρκον πτυσσόμενον —

and therefore *Agamemnon*, when he ſwore that he never had

LIBER SEXTVS

De Supplicationibus & juramentis.

CAP. I.

De Supplicibus sacris, De Asylis & Aris.

SECTIO. I. HAving taken this care to see the Marriage of himself, the Education of his children, and the honourable Burial of his Body, it will be expected, that now I say somewhat in commendation of his condition, and concerning his manner of Life, either towards the gods, or towards Men. Of his carriage towards the Gods because there has been something already done in that kind, I shall not speak so largely: only a word or two, or more of the customs used in *Supplications* to, and in Swearing by the gods; and then I shall proceed to his actions towards men, whether his friends in making merry with his equalls, and giving to the Poor; or his Enemies in waging of War. This Treatise, because of the diversity of subjects, I have divided into three severall Sections, the first of Supplication, called by them ἱκεσία.

The person of a distressed Petitioner (as an abused slave, or the like) whether he addressed himself to men, or to the gods, but especially if to the gods, was to be lookt upon as sacred and inviolable, as appears by the Oracle, sent from *Dodona's* Vocall Forrest to the *Athenians*, related by *Pausanias*.

Φράζεο δ' Αχαιόντε πάγον Σαμές τε δυσβλῆτες
Εὐμηλίδων, ὅτι χρὴ Λακεδαιμονίων ἱκετῆα σῶσαι,
Δυσὶ μεζομένους, τοῦ μὴ σὺ κτεῖνε σιδήρῳ,
Μηδ' ἱκέτας ἀδικεῖν, ἱκνεῖ ἐς γαῖαν τε ἀγυιάς.

For it he came flying to such or such Altars as were appointed to be Ασυλα, none might touch him upon pain of exile-

ment.

ment. And therefore is it that *Polydorus* in *Euripides* makes it such a ground for his confidence: ſaies he

—Βωμοὶ δ' ἐχέγγυοι πάλαι πάρεισι; *The Altars are not far off.* So in another Tragedy, when *Helena* kept hanging upon the Bed for her refuge, *Menelaus* wondring thereat, *what* (ſaies he) *doſt Altars want, or is it the Barbarian mode?* And no wonder *they* thus fled to Altars, for that *others* feared to meddle with, or to ſlay any body neer them: viz. Becauſe they thought the blood would be upon them that ſhould do it, yea though the Supplicants were already dead in the Law. For ſo the *Chorus* in *Ion* tells *Creüſa*, *the Law forbids any Petitioner to be put to death. True* (ſaies he) *but I muſt be killed by the ſame Law. No matter* (replies the Chorus) *ſit faſt, and if any one kill thee there,*

a Eurip. Hel. v. 805.

b Περιρράντιον αἷμα ἔσται, b Ib. v. 1248.

Thy blood ſhall be upon him.

Inſomuch that a great many even among them ſeeing Malefactors thus protected from the *Law*, and conſequently encouraged to the *tranſgreſſion*, were bold to complain of this injuſtice of it, as you have *Ion* in the *Tragedy*, thus

Θεῶ δεινὸν γὰρ, ὅστις τοὺς νόμους σέβει ἐ κρύπτει,
Κἂν ὁ θεὸς ἐκ' ἀπὸ γνώμης σοφῆς,
Τοὺς μ' ὄντας βωμοὺς οὐκ ἐᾷν ἐχεῖν
Ἀλλ' ἐξελαύνειν· ἐκ' ἀναγκάζειν κακὸν
Θνῄσκοντα κτανεῖν χαίρειν.

I ſaid before, *ſuch or ſuch* becauſe 'tis thought that not any of the *Altars* or *Temples* had this priviledge, but only ſix, *viz. Miſericordiæ, Minervæ, Eumenidum, Munichiæ*, and two of *Theſeus* Temples, one within, and other without the Walls. The firſt of theſe ſome ſay was the firſt *Aſylus* that ever was made, erected by *Hercules* his Grand-children, to preſerve them from their enemies, according to that of *Servius* ad *Æn.* 8. *Poſtquam Hercules migravit è terris, nepotes ejus timentes inſidias eorũ quos avus afflixerat, Athenis ſibi primi Aſylũ, hoc eſt, templum miſericordiæ collocarunt, unde nullus poſſet abduci.* An example imitated by other people, almoſt in every Country. For they thought that otherwiſe a beaſt had a ſafer

course. For there is ἐυωχία ἐν τοῖς λόγοις saies *Theophrastus*, *good cheer* in words, as well as in meat and drink. *Aristophanes* calls it φαγεῖν τὰ ῥήματα, *eating of words*, *Plautus*, *comedere sermones*. And it may be they might be made sometimes to eat their words indeed, if they parted with so much as by all mens report they did. For they were so λογοποιοὶ (as the Character terms them) so imployed ἐν τῷ σπείρειν τοὺς λόγους, *in disseminandis & spargendis rumoribus*; and were so much given to spend their time in nothing else, but either *to hear or tell some new thing*, * that I wonder with what face, they could call St *Paul.* Σπερμολόγον. Though I know some do rather chuse to fetch the word from λέγειν *to gather*, as the Scholiast on *Aristoph.* interprets τοὺς Σπερμολόγους to be τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐμπορείων καὶ τῶν ἁρμαμαξῶν διαπίπτοντα καὶ τὰ ἐν φορτίων διαπίπτοντα ἀναλεγομένους, *such as watch for loose things that drop out of carriages, and gather them up.* The places where they met and discoursed were either the Baths, or the Vaults, and the Porches for the better sort: or Trades mens shops for the meaner, like the Roman *Taberna*; *Nulla Taberna meos habeat, nec pila libellos.* Their meetings in this kind, but especially those in the shops and places themselves, and the confabulations therein, they called λέσχαι, καπηλεῖα λέσχαι saith *Euripides.* And yet *Sophocles* in *Antigone* durst call the convention indicted by the King, by the name of λέσχη too. Now those shops were commonly Perfumers or Barbers, whence the proverb Κειρομένῃ λαλιὰ used by *Polybius* i.e. *Barbers talke*, (as we say) *Lye like a tooth drawer.* But especially Smiths, and such as made use of a Fire; being free for any that would warme themselves, and without any doores, as the Scholiast upon those words in *Hesiod. l. 2.* Concerning χαλκεῖον βοῶν &c. Τὸ παλαιὸν (saith he) τοὺς χαλκεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἐργαστήρια τοὺς τῶν σιδηρέων ὄντας, ἃ καὶ λέσχας ἐκάλουν. And to this belongs that of *Homer.*

Οὐδὲ θέλοις σοὶ δῶκεν χαλκήϊον ἐς δόμον ἐλθών.

Il. Θ. & Σ. Ἡφαιστίς λέσχη.

The discourse was for the most part *de Lanâ Caprinâ* (as they called it) or *de Cerebro Sicabi*, childish and idle, well fitting

* Act. 17. 21.

Theopr.

τὸ σῶμα πᾶν.

In those boughs they put wool, (as we do silk in posies) and so called them *infulas, vittatas lauros.*

Λήνει μεγίστῳ σωφρόνως ἐστεμμένον — Æschyl. in Eum.

Ἀργᾶι δ' μόνῳ The wool was not ty'd and so fastned to the boughs, but onely wreathed and wrapped up in them: and (it may be) therefore it was that *Euripides* in the Tragedy of the *Theban women petitioners* (v. 321.) called it λευκὸν ἄδετον φυλλάδ' & the *Tyrian* ἄλυτον, *without a knot.* The *Italians* used such boughs too, as it seems, for *Virgil* saies.

Jamque oratores aderant ex Urbe Latina
Velati ramis oleæ veniamque rogantes.

And *Livy* speaks of the like practice of the people of *Rhodes.* The boughs were either of *Laurel* or *Olive.*

c *Vittata laurus, & supplicia arbor Olivæ.*

c Eur. Theb. l. 2. d In Ion. v. 1436.

First, because both those kinds are ἀνάλωτα, *not subject to withering*, and therefore d *Euripides* gives the latter the Epithete of ἀνήλιον. 2ly. Because the Laurel was a sign of *prevailing*, and the Olive of peace and good will, as *Lactantius* saies *per quem pax petitur supplicando.* Now the custome was with those boughs, if they were doubtfull of prevailing, to touch but the knees of the man whom they petitioned, or of the statue of the God, just as a *Lucretia* did γόνατ' αὐτῶν λαβοῦσα. But if hopefull, the *hands* b ἐξιτήριος ἐμῶν χειρῶν ἄγων. And if confident, the *chin*, and the *cheeks*, ἐμοῦ γένυος. It is said by the Commentator upon *Pindar* in his νμ. (where the Poet desires to touch *Æacus* his knees, when he praies for a *Gale* of successe for the *Æginetæ*) that when they desired the parties *consent*, they touched the head to have it *annuere*; when his help, his *helping* hand; when successe, the knee. The last I know no great *reason* for, but *History* enough, even from the *Natural Historian* himself. *Hominis genibus quædam religio inest observatione gentium, hæc supplices attingunt, ad hæc manus tendunt, hæc, ut aras adorant.* All his reason is, because of the abundance of spirits in the hollow of the knee, *fortasse quia inest iis vitalitas, quippe quæ ex inanitate fossâ, seu jugulo, spiritus fugiat.* And therefore *Homer* makes the *Lita*, the *Petitioners*

a Dion. Halic. l. 4.
b Soph. Oed. T.
c Eurip. in Heracl.

ἐστιάσεως συμβάλλειν, was when they joyned or clubbed for it, and every one brought his *Symbolum*, his *part*, or else lay in his *Symbolum*, his *pawn*, or his *earnest* with the master of the feast. The earnest was commonly a ring, as *Terence* saies, *dari annuli, locus, tempus constitutum.* And sometimes any other thing: Which he that laid out the money for the feast, if he were not paid, or the party did not come, had power to sell or do what he would with it. The reason why it was not so costly, and those that were at it, did eat so sparingly, ὅτι ἐξ ἰδίων ἕκαστος εἰσέφερε, was because every one brought his own provender with him, and from thence they were called σύσσιτοι, *Sodales*: Sometimes they call such a feasting καταβολὴν, from *joyning*, as we say, or *clubbing*, or *casting* every one his *lot* into one purse, καλεῖται καταβολὴ, ὅταν κοινῶς δόντες δαπάνην συμφορτίζωσι, saies *Tzetes* upon *Hesiod*. And so likewise sometimes ἀπὸ σκεδασμοῦ δεῖπνον, from σκεδάσαι, because the charges came *scattered*, or *sown* by several hands, which is resembled very well by the *Sportula* instituted by *Nero*. Lastly θοίνη (they say) has been used for the same, θοῦς τοὺς for the company.

Of this way of Feasting you have a briefe and large commendation in *Hesiod*.

Μηδ' ἀπολυσίπονα δαῖτα; δασαμένοισι φίλη,
Ἐν κοινῷ πλείων ἢ χάρις, ἢν δὲ τὸ λιγαίνῃ.

Be not averse from common feasts; for there
The charge the least is, and the most the cheer.

Sometimes you should have a covetous fellow make his γάμος his very *wedding dinner*, in the manner of an ἔρανος: and every one that comes must bring his part with him, and be αὐτόσιτος (as *Plutarch* calls the Souldier *that goes a warfare at his own cost*.) This kind of feasting (I think) may very well be named πανδημία, for *that* is either when there is meat of *all sorts*, or when it is brought to *every man*, or when they sit *higgly pigly*, and every one takes where he likes. Εὐλάκανον (for of γάμος we have spoken already) used to be a little more costly τοῦ ἀστείου. It was thus called either 1. From λάκκος the *lapping and tipling* in it, or 2. From their gathering together,

ibid. ὃ ἐξ

Festus.

f L. 2.

Athen. l. 8.

In Crass.

Schol. in Aristoph. Pace.

gether, or sitting in *companies*; ὅτε χοροὶ εἱλαι, τὸ δὲ εἱλικρὸν σῖτον, or 3. From εἱλαι, the *vertigines* or *rounds* used in dances * χορικαὶ εἱλαι, The company at such a feast were called εἱλαπιναγαί. Contrary to the manner of the Romans, the poor Women were left by themselves alone in the γυναικωνίτιδι, unlesse it were to accompany some of their very near friends: according to that of *Cornelius Nepos*, in the beginning of his Book: *Nam neque in convivium adhibetur nisi propinquorũ, neque sedet nisi in interiore parte ædium, quæ gynæconitis appellatur, quo nemo accedit, nisi propinquo à cognatione conjunctus.* The usual customes in feasting were these. 1. The number of the company was not above thirty, and if there were more, there were certain officers appointed for the purpose to discommon them. And to them the Cooks were to repair, to be examined concerning the same. Besides those Officers, there was an οἰνόπτης too, to see how oft, and how much every one drank. And if it appeared that a man was any way ἀκρατὴς or intemperate, he was to be punish'd by the *Areopagus*. Which perhaps gave occasion to the Drunken unthrifts of those times to call the Greeks μικροψυχους and συλλυπωλας, as if they were niggardly in their diet. But if they were indeed such bite-figges, and cummin-cutters, as they make them, how came it to pass that *Cookery* was so much in request among them; (σεμνὸν δ' ἐ μαγειρικὴ, it is an honourable profession saies *Athenæus*) or that the skill in Physick, Astronomy, and Geometry, was thought so requisite eo that art: or that in ancient time, the Cook should be one of the chief officers at a Sacrifice, as they say he was? the last indeed, was very convenient, since a Sacrifice and a feast so well agreed that commonly either the latter followed the former, or instead of invitations, they sent their friends a peice of the victime. L. 4.

——καὶ τὸ δίκαιον

Ταῖς Νύμφαις, Μέρσωνι μᾶλλον χρῆμα σωτήριον πέμψον.

—as soon as you

To the Nymphs have offer'd, give to *Merson* too.

CAP. III.

De more ſalutandi, Sympoſiarcho, Coronis, unguentis, modo accumbendi, & de menſis.

WHen the gueſts were come, the manner of ſalutation for little boyes (if any came) was to take them by the eares, as one would take a *pot*, and kiſſe them, and ſuch a kiſſe as this they called χύτρα a pot. The faſhion of kiſſing the lips was but of latter daies, and *oſculum* may be *oſculum* upon any thing ſo it be from the *mouth*. Anciently they uſed to lay their mouth upon the eyes, and ſometimes upon the head, or the ſhoulder, or the neck like the Jewes. Sometimes they went no higher than the hand, with an imbracing of the body, as *Xuthus* deſired to do to *Ion*,

Pollux. l. 9. c. 24.

Enr. Ion. v. 518.

δὸς χεῖρ' ἑλίσσω σοι σάς, σῶμά τ' ἀμφὶ σὸν χέρας.

Embracing was the moſt uſuall ſalutation. Inſomuch that (if you will believe the Scholy) the word ἀσπάζεσθαι uſed to ſignifie to *Salute*, does properly ſignifie to *embrace*, as being derived (ſaies he) ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγκὰς ἄγειν εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἕτερον. The compellation to ſuch as they reſpected was uſually πάπα, *viz. honeſte*, worthy *Sir*, rather than Κύριε, *Domine*, or *Magiſter*.

*On Ariſtoph. Plut.

Eurip. in ſuppl.

— ὃ σὺν χρηστοῖσι τίμιος ξυνουσίαις,

Till the meat came up, the Gueſts ſpent their time in obſerving and commending the conveniences of the houſe, and the houſhold ſtuffe, and the like, according to *his* inſtructions in a *Ariſtophanis*.

a Veſp.

Ἐπειτ' ἐπαινεῖν ὅτι τῶν χαλκωμάτων
Ὄψοιτ' ἄν ἄξια —

The διανυκτερεύων, the Maſter of the houſe, ſhall I ſay, or the Maſter of the Feaſt? or rather the *founder* of the feaſt, (for συμποσίαρχος the Maſter, was many times no more than a Maſter ſteward, or ὑπηρέτης ἐπιμελητὴς the Caterer choſen by a company at a Collation) preſently had his χειρόγραφον brought him in by the Cook, i.e. a *note* containing the ſeveral ſorts of diſhes which they were to expect. Now in ſome

Pollux. l. 2. c. 1.

feaſts,

feasts, to carouse it (according to the manner of the Roman *Mediterranei*, and the fashion yet in use in *Italy*, and among us on *Twelf-day*) they threw lots who should be BACCHUS's *King*, and he to whose lot it fell, was to have the whole command of all, for matter of drinking, or ceremonies, without any restraint. Which sometimes prov'd too *tyrannical*, as it did in him in *Diog. Laertius*, who commanded a fellow ἀναπιεῖν τὸ κύλικα to *take the drink in his mouth, or have it flung in his face.* G. 8.

All this while that the feast lasted, they kept burning of Frankincense and Myrrhe upon the Hearth. Either that the sense of smelling too, might have a *taste* of the mirth, (ἐυωδίαν for *c smell feast*) or else to stop the mouths, and the *ungracious* of the gods to whom, before they eat any thing themselves, they used to offer a taste of the best of every dish. But how they did it I know not, unless they threw it in the fire as *Patroclus* did. c Athenæus, lib. IX.

τὸ δ' ἐν μέσῃ βάλλε σποδιᾷ.

The Guests before they sate down, used to crown their heads with Garlands, made for the most part of Myrtle, and so I remember the bold guest in *Euripides*, calling and commanding for his drink, ——κόμας μυρσίναις χλοηφόροις δῆσον, *bound* his head with *Mirtle-boughs* to *secure* it from sliding, and the Romans it seems agree with them herein, for saies *Horace*, when he went to be too merry.

Nunc decet aut viridi capere impedire myrto.

κατὰ τὴν χρῆσιν τὸ κεφάλιον, saies the Scholiast upon Aristophanes in Avib.

The use of these Garlands was to coole the head, and so to restraine the heat of the Wine. Neither did they *crown* their heads onely, but *anoint* them too, as if he had been going to *wrastle*, with the strength of the liquor: for so saies *Ovid*

—μυρσίνης στεφάνοις ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐστεφανωμένος.

and the Romans knew of this too it seems.

—habent unctæ mollia fila comæ.

Using it as they did, either to keep the fumes and vapours from coming altogether, or to open the pores, and let them out as soon as they came. For the same end was it, that the

herb *crambe* was ſo much uſed in their feaſts, as it was alſo among the Ægyptians; and very likely it is to have a virtue that way, in regard of the antipathy ſaid to be in the nature of it, to the nature of the Vine, ſo great, that it will not endure to grow near it: which antipathy (ſay they) has been in it, ever ſince *Lycurgus (a King of *Thrace*) for cutting down all the Vines in his Kingdome to prevent drunkeneſſe, being bound by *Bacchus* with Vine-twiggs, to be thrown into the Sea, in crying, let drop a teare upon the ground, out of which teare preſently ſprang the *crambe*, ſo called *quaſi* κορέμβλη, from κόρη, or *Pupilla* the *Apples*, or the *Rabies* (as we ſay) in the eyes, to which it is thought to be hurtfull.

* Sch On Ariſtoph. in Equit. Act. 1. ſc. 3.

Beſides anointing, there was waſhing too, both before and after meat; *that* before, had a peculiar name of ὕδωρ χεῖρ. the other they call ἀπόνιμμα.

Their *poſture* at eating was lying upon κλῖναι *beds* (imitated by the Roman *lecti*) with a ζυγὸν a *mat* cloſe by, which had bed cloathes, and all to ſleep upon. Thoſe κλῖναι were uſually covered with skinnes: according to that in the [b] Poet of one that lay ſporting upon a full belly.

[a] Pol. l. 4. c. 2.

[b] Ariſtoph. in Equit.

Ῥάγχει μαδύων ἐν πολυτρώτοις δέρμασιν ὕφαις.

And ſometimes with Tapiſtry, for the better ſort: for with ſuch *Achilles* his Embaſſadors are entertained in [c] *Homer*,

[c] Ilia.

——πόντα τε ταπήτια ἐστόρεσσι.

The manner of lying was on their ſides, and leaning upon their elbowes: and therefore *Silenus*, in *Euripides*, bids *Cyclops* (when they ſate at meat upon the ground) θὲς ἐς τὸν ἀγκῶνα εὐπρεπῶς, *to place his elbow handſomely*. They reſted their feet upon a ποδόθετον, or a *foot-ſtole*: ſuch a one as *Juno* would beſtow upon *Somnus* for the ſame uſe.

Τῷ δ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶν λιπαροὺς πόδας ὑλαμπέζον.

And yet I remember one in the Poets *Veſpæ*, asking how he ſhould ſit, was bid γόνατ' ἐκτείνειν, *to ſtretch out his knees*. The table was ordinary *Tripus*. Unleſſe the man were of a higher *ſtomach* than he that ſaid, *Sit mihi menſa tripes*: for then it might be of another faſhion. But uſually it was made with three

three legs, and an ἐπίθημα upon it, called λαὸς (in imitation of the *Tripus* at *Delphos*) to be taken off, and set on, as they had occasion. Of what fashion soever it was, they used to reverence it with a great deal of religion: so as not to have any uncivil or prophane or immodest discourse, as long as they sate at it. For why (saies *Synesius*) it *is holy* and *consecrated* to *Jupiter* ὁἰλιος, and ξένιος. Which gave occasion to that expression of *Demosthenes* Τὴν δ' ἁλὸς, οὐ τραπέζας οὐ συνδαῖς; And to *Juvenal's reverentia mensæ*. The [e] first that ever dared to profane the *table*, were the Women that killed *Terens* his son, and served him up in the dish. Ep. 57. d Π. παρ. αφ. Sat. 2. Paul. in Phoch.

CAP. IV.

De Cibo & Potu.

THE Greeks (they say) in ancient times, as well as other people; were contented with Masts and Acornes: for their bread at least; if not for their Meat. And there were βαλανεῖς, people imployed of purpose to gather them. There was no *Cereale solum*, in those dayes, no fear of *mensas consumimus*. 'Twas enough for the luxury of *later* dayes, to make *paniceas mensas*, tables or trenchers of bread. In allusion to the use of this food * A. *Gellius* saies that the Romans made their *civica corona* of *Oaken* boughs, *quoniam cibus victusq; antiquissimus quernus capi solitus sit. In remembrance of their oaken diet.* After mast, they lookt lower and found better food in barly. For that kind of corn was the [a] first in use. Afterward, when fine Wheat, and teeth came up, it was made a punishment to use it, as [b] *Suetonius* saies, *decimatas hordeo pavit.* Their way of using corne at *first*, before that Milles came up (οἱ μύλοι, said to be invented by *Mylas*) was to rost it in hot embers, or to parch it upon the hearth: and then *pinsere* to *beat* it, and *knead* it into hard lumps or *loaves*. Those that did this, the Romans called *pinsores*, wch afterwards came to *pistores*, *bakers*. We read of קלי *parched stuffe* among the Israelites too even there where we read of flower, & so it was not

Virg. Æn. L. 5. c. 6. a Artemidor. l. 1. c. 71. b In Aug. c. 24. Serv. ad Æn. 1. 2 Sam. c. 17. v. 28.

for

for need that they uſed it.) In time it came to varieties: and I alſo might ſay a great deale concerning them, as likewiſe of their uſual diſhes at feaſts, both fiſh and fleſh. But you may have enough in *Athenæus* with little paines and leſs profit. Only I deſire to obſerve one thing, that of all the parts of a beaſt, the braine might by no meanes be ſeen upon a table. For they loathed to eat it, as much as a *Pythagorean* would to eat a *bean:* and thought, that none but he that had loſt his ſenſes, would offer to devour that, from which all the *ſenſes* had their *life.* Nay ἐγκέφαλον the *brain* might not be in their mouths to *ſpeak* it, as well as to eate it. And therefore *Sophocles,* when he ſpeaks of *Lychas* his throwing from the rock into the ſea, and daſhing out his braines, how gingerly does he relate it, calling the brain *white marrow of his head.*

In Trachin.

Κόμης ϑ' ἁλικὸν μυελὸν ἐκχέαι μέσον
Κρατός—

Hecuba in *Euripides* ſpeaking of *Aſtyanax* his throwing down from the tower by the Greeks, relates it after the ſame manner, calling it ὀσίων μιαίνειν τέκνον, adding withall ἵν' αἰσχρὰ μὴ λέγω *with reverence be it ſpoken.*

But as for the Entrals, ἔντερα, no diſh ſo common as that, inſomuch that you ſhould have ſome covetous fellowes make a feaſt of nothing elſe. Such a feaſt they called more peculiarly ἔντερα, or μαγειρικὸν τεῖχος. The meat was ſerved up in diſhes of wood, or braſſe (for the better ſort) and every ones portion at his place.

The *drink*, which they had at feaſts during meale time, was uſually wine mingled with water to allay the ſtrength of it. And this mixture they ſay was the invention of *Amphyction* (him whom they report to have firſt inſtituted the meeting of the ſeven Cities called *Concilium Amphictionicum*) but I have another ſtory for you from * *Athenæus*, who had it from one *Philonides* a Phyſitian, and it is this. When *Bacchus* firſt brought his Wines from the *Red ſea* into *Greece*, the peop'e came preſently flocking to the Sea ſide, and fell ſo immoderately to the liquor, that ſome became dead drunk, and

* L. 15.

and some raving mad. Others that came later, being driven away by a sudden tempestuous showre, when they returned again, found some of the raine *mingled* with the Wine which they had left in the cupps, and drinking freely of it, μεθυσθῆναι μὲν οὐκ ἐδύναντο, ἔφασαν δὲ λούεσθαι, notwithstanding found no such effects as the former did, but continued sober. This (they say) is the person that at the first bringing in of the κεκραμένον, or *mixed wine* to the table, they used to remember Διὸς σωτῆρος *Jupiter* the founder of the rain; and the *mixture*. To which they added the *health* called Διὸς ὀλυμπίου, if the feast were a *victors* feast; and Διὸς γάμου, if it were a Wedding; altering the name of the health, according to the occasion of the feast. And yet *Sophocles* seems to make the third round to be to *Jupiter Servator*

Διὸς σωτῆρος κρατῆρος

Presently after meale came in ἄκρατον the Wine *in pure mixt chalices*, whereof (it may be) προπόμα, *promulsis*, or *gustatio*, the *first taste* before they went to eating used to be. The great *Crater* being filled, the *Symposiarch* began a health, either to the *good Genius* (to whom they meant to indulge) or to the *goodly* god that invented the liquor. This health is called *Poculum* not *Charitasii*, but ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος: and so to drink is ἐπιπίνειν ἀγαθῷ δαίμονι, making it a religious businesse, as if it were a *Libation* or a drink-offering, as he says, σπονδὴν ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος. And many times they prayed too, crying out ὦ δαῖμον ἀγαθέ: Some say this health was at the beginning of the feast. But they did but sip at it and therefore *Hesychius* interprets ἀγαθοδαιμονίζειν for ὀλιγοποτεῖν, *to little drinke*. The last health of all, which they drank just as they went to bed was to *Mercury*, as to the god of sleeping and dreames

Ἑρμείᾳ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖσι τοὺς ὀνείρους ἐκπέμπειν.

for that was the reason (saies *Athenæus*) ἵνα ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ ὄντες καθεύδωσι. Yet some say it was Διὸς πώλιον. Ἀσκὸς, the bottle or vessel out of which they filled the Wine, was usually made of the skinne of a Boare. And therefore in *Lysistrate* (*Aristophanis*) it is called by the name of κάπρος, and the Wine κάπρου

Aristoph in Eq.

* In Vesp:

blood, and the powring out *τὴν σφαγὴν slaughter*, as if the Goat were a-killing but then.

When one friend drank to another, they called it *συμπίειν τὸ κύπελλον*, or *τὸ κύπελλον*, or *συμπίειν ἐκ φιλοτησίου a cup of good friendship*: and such kind of expreſſions *λήψεσθαι, takings, or pledgings*: according to that

——*χρυσέοις δεπάεσσι*
δεξιτερὰς ἀλόντες——

And thus if a great man kept the feaſt, when he drank to his favourite, he gave him the cup to keep. But if he drank a health to one whom he loved (*ἐρώμενός* or *φίλος* his friend or his *Catamite*) he drank part himſelf, and beſtowed the reſt upon the ground. Sometimes after Supper, they would ſit up drinking for a wager all the night, and he that could keep himſelf waking till morning, had a *πόπανον*, a cake made of flower and hony for his labour, juſt as the women uſe to have in in *Theſmophoria*. In ſuch mad fits as theſe, they were wont to have *γρῖφοι* riddles propoſed: which he that could not interpret, was to drink off his cup. And if any one were weary, he might not depart unleſſe he had leave, (perhaps it was unleſſe he took his leave) of the Maſter of the feaſt. And here I might eaſily ſpeak enough of their *κότταβος*, but I think a little is ſufficient, and that I have done already.

Now the cups wherein they drank in ancient time were nothing but Bulls hornes, *ἐκ τοῦ κέρατα*, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Nicander*, *ἀπὸ τοῦ κέρατα*. Inſomuch that the word *κέρασαι*, to fill drink, ſeemed to be derived from *κέρατα* theſe *hornes*, *Scripturæ Veteres*. Hence it was that they uſed to picture *Bacchus* with *Bulls hornes*. Nay the *Argivi* made his picture *all* Bull, which occaſioned ſome to call him down right by the name of *Taurus* a Bull. And the reaſon of thoſe phancies was (ſaies the Scholiaſt) *διὰ τὸ ταυροπρόσωπον τοῦ πότου, ἤτοι ὅτι πολὺ ἀπὸ βοείου ξύλου* for the ſtrange (ſaies he) or rather the *Bull wood* carriage of thoſe that uſe his Liquor. But the beſt is, *aut Deus immiſit cornua curva bovi*. Afterward they grew weary of hornes, and came to their cannes, which they ſeem to have made of Ivy (for *Bacchus* his take too no queſtion, to whom the wood belongs).

Eurip. Alc. v. 756. Πολλοὶ δ' ἐν χείλεσι κισσοὶ κλάδοι

CAP.

CAP. V.

De iis quæ à discumbentibus fieri solebant.

FOr their behaviour at a table, ſpitting and coughing, and ſpeaking loud, was counted uncivil in any, but a Gentleman (as we ſay in the Univerſity, that nothing is freſh in a Senior) and to him it was a glory ὃν μακρὰ πτύει ſaies *Stobæus*, to *ſpit ſtoutly*, or as *Quintilian* calls it, *clarè exscreare*, as it is among us for great men to ſit and eat careleſly. But *paring of nailes* was ſuch a *forbid* thing, that no gentility could bear it out. *Heſiod* (as tis thought) long ſince *abominated* the *incivility*, or what ſhall I call it, to hit his meaning.

Μηδ' ἀπὸ πυτόζοιο ξύων ἰὸν ἔκτεο σιδήρῳ
Λῶον ἀπὸ χλωρῆς τέμνων αἰζηὸς ἐὼν ἔρυσ.

Nor from the *five-branch'd-green* do with a knife
At feaſting cut the *wither'd* for thy life.

Their attendance was, every one his *Puer*, or his *Pedo*, to whom they uſed to deliver τὰ ἀπόμαγμα, choice bits, or ſuch dainties as they lifted beſt, to keep, or to carry home with them: but I muſt confeſſe it was counted ſomewhat *baſe*: and therefore clancularly done, except it were a very *high* feaſt indeed, and *open* houſe. Thoſe boyes or ſervants were commonly *Black-moores*, after the faſhion of the Romans,

—tibi pocula curſor
Getulus dabit, aut nigrâ manus oſſea Mauri.

Your μοῖραι *portions*, which we read of, were another thing, as a piece of the Victime at a Sacrifice, or a part of the choiceſt diſhes at a feaſt, ſent by all the company in a publick manner to friends that were abſent. For ſuch *Plutarch* reports to have been ſent to *Aratus* by King *Antigonus*, when he ſacrificed at *Corinth*: and *Ariſtophanes* (in his *Acarnanes*) By the Bride at a Wedding.

Ἐπιμελὴς σὺ γυμφίῳ τουτὶ γένη
Ἐκ τῶν γάμων

And indeed not onely the Greeks, but the Romans and the Jewes too, are to be commended for remembring their friends in this kind: for the Jewes both at Sacrifices (as* *Elkanah* did to his Wife,) and alſo at feaſts (as thoſe were bid to do by *a Nehemiah*) uſed to ſend מנות *portions to them, for whom nothing was prepared.* When they had greaſed their fingers, they would take a piece of ſoft bread, and rub them with it, and throw it to the doggs, and from thence came the proverb *tanquam canis vivens è magdalia*, or rather (if you will) *apomagdalia*, for ſo they called ſuch a piece of bread from ἀπομάττειν *to wipe*; ſuch a thing as their Cooks ἄψις, or μάμμαιον, a piece of *coarſe bread*, which they had for the ſame uſe.

1 Sam. 1. 4.

a Nehem. c. 8. 10.

The *deſert* conſiſted of *nuts* and *fruit*, and all ſorts of *junkets*: they called this ſervice by the ſeveral names of b ἐπικλα, γαλάματα, ἐπιδόρπια, ἐπιγάμματα, ἐπιδόρπισμα, μετάδορπα, *Epidorpia menſa*. And now to *crown* all with dauncing and muſick, which *Homer* calls c ἐντύνειν μολπῇ καὶ θαλίῃσι, (uſually accompanied with ἱμερόεντα, *merry*) *ſongs*, and *tales* (becauſe they themſelves ſpent moſt time in *practiſing* it, I ſhall be bold to ſpend a little the more in relating it.

b Hor. ἐπίκλα.

c Coronas Convivii.

CAP. VI.

De cantu Convivali, & Scoliis.

ALthough *Socrates* in *Plato's Protagoras*, ſpeake againſt the uſe of Muſick at a *Feaſt*, and *Euripides* ſay, it were better uſed at a *Funerall*, to make the Mourners merry: yet you ſhall find *Xenophon* himſelf (in himſelf) *commending*, and *Phemius* (in *Homer*) *practiſing* the ſame. Now the cuſtome was when they came to dancing and the Muſick (whereas at *Meal-time* leſſe cups would ſerve) *then* to have greater, and a *freſh* bowle (καινὴ) to begin with, for ſuch a one they had at every *change*, if they obſerved that faſhion we read of in *Euripides*.

Odyſſ. 1.

End

Ἐπὶ δ' αἱ' αὐλὸς ἦλθ' ἐς ἀγαθόν τι
Καιὸν, γέρων ἐκεῖνε, ἀρχαῖόν τι χαῖρε
Ὀνειρόκριδιν σμικρὸν, μεγαλοπρεπῆ τινα.

The ſong moſt common among them was *Harmodius*: So called, (juſt as *Hymenæus* is from a man of the ſame name, and as we call *our* ſongs *Chloris* and the like) becauſe it was ſung to the honour of *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogeiton*, the two famous *Tyrannicidæ* that put an end to the tyranny of the *Piſiſtratidæ*, by putting *Hypparchus* to death: and of whom it is reported that the ſtrumpet *Leæna* (as *beaſtly* a name as *Lupa*) ſo faithfully loved their bodies, that when ſhe was racke by the Tyrant, to diſcover their conſpiracies, ſhe bit off a piece of her tongue with her teeth, and ſpit it in his face. The beginning of *Harmodius* was thus, Φίλταν Ἁρμόδι, οὐ νί σε τέθνηκας, &c. You have mention of it in *Ariſtophanes* his *Acharnenſes*, and his *Veſpæ*. Sometimes they would have up *Admetus*, or a ſong to the praiſe of *Admetus*, (for moſt of *their* ſongs, as well as thoſe of the *Romans*, tended to the praiſe of one famous Worthy or other, (It began thus, Ἀδμήτου ἄρχειν ὦ ἐπῃ μαθόντα ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, μὴ δοκεῖν δὲ κακόν. &c. where you may obſerve the oppoſing ἀγαθὸν to δοκεῖν. For ſo you ſhall find κακὸν, commonly for a Coward in Heathen writers, who reckoned *virtutem* (as they called it) *valour*, and *fortitude*, the onely *virtue* worthy the name. Beſides theſe two which I have named, you ſhall find a great many more ſuch in Authors, under the name of Σκόλια. I ſhall only give you one whole one, made by *Timocreon*, a Poet of *Rhodes*, againſt *riches*.

Ὄφελες ὦ πολὺ Πλοῦτε
Μήτ' ἐν γῇ μόλιβδον ἦν θαλάττῃ, μήθ' ἐν οἰκίαις
Φαίνεσθαι.
Ἀλλὰ πόρτιν ἦν τε ναίειν τ' Ἀχέροντα
Διὰ ζωὸς πάλιν ἐς ἀνθρώπους καλῶ.

Vid. ὄχ. in Ariſtoph. Ran.

Thoſe kind of ſongs which they called Σκόλια, were firſt invented by one *Terpander*. They were ſo called either firſt διὰ τὴν τῶν κλινῶν σκολιότητα (ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Rana*,) from the *crooked* placing of the beds, and the lying of the

*Plutarch. de muſ.

gueſts upon them. Or elſe 2. (as the Scholy ſaies upon the ſame Poet in *Veſpis*) from the *flexuous* diſorderly manner in the ſinging. For there were in uſe among the Greeks (ſaies * *Dicearchus* περὶ μουσικῶν Ἀγώνων) three wayes of ſinging ſongs at ſuch meetings, the firſt ἐκ τῶν πάντων, by all together, the 2. καθ' ἕνα, by one after another in order as they ſate, the 3. one after another, but ἀκαλλάξ, not in order, and ἐκ συστοιχίας, either by ſuch as had beſt skill, or by ſuch as he that ſung laſt, ſhould pleaſe to chooſe. I ſay to chooſe, for in ſinging a *Scholium*, as tis properly uſed, this was the cuſtome: He that *Scholied* firſt took him a Myrtle rod, called ἀπὸ τοῦ χέω from χέω and ὄχος, & holding it in his hand like a *thyrſus* (for all the devotion now was to *Bacchus* and to *Venus*,) began in any place of *Simonides*, or *Steſichorus*, or *Æſchylus*, where he had a mind, and continued as long as he pleaſed. The verſes which they ſung, they called by the name of μελῳδία, or ῥαβδῳδία, or σκολιὰ, from the σίχοι, or the rods, as being *apta virgis*, in the words of *Apuleius*. When he had done, he delivered his bough to whom he thought fit: and he to whom the bough was delivered, was to go on where the other left off: and thus it went round till all had done. And then he that was judged by the company to come off beſt, and have *capt* the reſt, had his φόρον (as they called it) *i. e.* a *cup*, or ſome ſuch thing for his reward. Unleſſe they ſung ſome of *Homers* verſes, for then both the bough was *Laurel*, and the prize a *Lamb*, from whence they were called ἀρνειδεῖς, as well as *Homeriſtæ*. Others ſay it was the cuſtome preſently after the taking away, to have a harp to go from one to another, and every one as he was the beſt able, or as his mind gave him, to ſing to the Harp, with a bough in his hand beſides. A third reaſon of the name is given by *Orus* (a Grammarian:) *viz.* becauſe the *eye*, and the *underſtanding* of thoſe that ſung, were by over ſtrong drink become παροῖνοι, διεστραμμένοι, *diſtorted*, as they are in Mad men (ἐμμανῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, & ὀρθῆς φρενὸς, right eyes and a right mind, are put together in the *Poet.*) 4. The ſong was called σκόλιον, (ſaies the [b] *Scholiaſt*) by the figure *Antiphraſis*, becauſe it was leaſt difficult of any, and μά-

* Schol. in Ran.

Euſta. h. Il. 1.

[a] Schol. Ariſtoph. in Nub.

[a] Soph. in Oed. Tyr.

[b] In Ranis.

λ

λίγοστιχον, *consisting but of a few staves.* But this etymology in another place of the same book is utterly disliked, τὸ δὲ Μοσχικὸν ἐπὶ τῶν εὐφημίσεως ἕνεκα μεταλαμβανόντων, καὶ οὐ τὰναντία, *because that figure Antiphrasis, is always by way of Euphemy, to give a bad thing a good name, but never to give a good thing a bad name. Origen* (they say) wrote a Poem, wherein he briefly compriz-ed all such things, as seemed to be intricate and perplexe, and gave it the title of *Scolia.* c *Pericles* is said to have made his Lawes, in the manner of *Scolies.* I think not for any obscurity in the meaning, but Poetry in the making. c χ. Arist. in Ran.

Τὸ Σκόλιον, is not opposed (whatever it may seem to be) to that which they call τὸ ὄρθιον μόνῳ (which might be sung by one alone, whereas the *Scolies* could not) so called, not because it was sung *right* along and in order; but either because the persons sung ὄρθιον, that is, (as *Suidas* expounds it) *altâ & erectâ voce, with a long blast,* (like *the trumpets in Judges c. 7. 15.*) or be cause it was sung κατὰ νόμον ὄρθιον, which I know not what way it was, but that *Herodotus* saies *Arion* plaid after that way upon the ship, and *Eustathius* and *Suidas* say that *Timotheus* playing after that manner to *Alexander*, ποίᾳ Ἀρ-θίῳ &c. *So moved his spirits, that he leaped immediatly to his arms and took them up to fight.* Instead of *Scolies*, sometimes you should have whole *Comedies* acted, and then none so soon as *Menanders.*

But amidst all this jollity, to put them in mind of the changeablenesse and uncertainty of their conditions (for this they say was the use they made of them) they had their σίγλατα, *oscilla*, or *ossicula*, like those which they use at *Rome* at the feast *Sigillaria*, or such as d *Augustus* is said to have plaid with (*talis aut ossiculis ludebat cum pueris*) things so ar-tificially made with joynts and pins, that in so many throwes they would yield you a thousand shapes, or *monthes*, or *faces.* *Petronius* having a scabby jeast thrown those things on the table, presently cryed out upon mortality, but with an ill in-tent, viz. to be merry therefore while he might. d Suet.

Heu, heu nos miseros, quam totus homuncio nil est!
Sic erimus cuncti postquam nos auferet orcus.

Ergo

Ergo vivamus dum licet esse bene.

And just so the Ægyptians us'd at feasts, to bring in the picture of a dead man in a Coffin: for he that brought him in, bid every one εἰς ἐκ πότου ἔσθιε καὶ πίνε, eat and drink, for to morrow he should die. Herod. l. 2.

CAP. VII.

De Peregrinis excipiendis.

A *Stranger*, whether you take it for a *Guest* or for an *Alien*, so it were not a *God*, was always had in so religious esteem at *Athens*, ὡς ἀνόσιον μιάσμα δοκεῖν εἶναι, ἐὰν πάσχοντά τινα ξένον, that (as the *Scholiast* saith upon [a] *Euripides*) if any one wronged a stranger, he was looked upon as a profane cursed fellow: according to the Poet himself in another * place.

[a] In Helen.

* In Taur. v. 468

——Let go the strangers hands,
Which being sacred may not be in bands.

And good reason, for — πᾶς γὰρ Διὸς εἶσιν ἅπαντες ξένοι — all strangers have *Jupiters* own Letters of protection: and therefore no *dolus* so *malus*, as ξενοκτασία. Now this esteem they had, First in obedience to the Lawes of Ζεὺς ξένιος, or ἱκέσιος, you may call him *Jupiter hospes*: for [b] *Ovid* in his *Metamorphosis* speaks of *Jovis hospitis ara*, an Altar of his in *Cyprus*, where the unhospitall people, for *their brutish inhumanity*, are said to have been turn'd into *Cerastæ*, bullocks. *Jupiter Xenius*, as much as he was for the *strangers*, was notwithstanding better *known* and honoured than any of the *Jupiters* besides, according to that of *Plutarch*, ξένιος Διὸς οἰκία καὶ μεγάλη, as if he had cared more for them than other people

[b] L. 10. Fab. 6.

Jupiter, hospitibus nam te dare jura loquuntur. Virg. Æn. 1.

I remember indeed once to shew how wel he was pleased with that virtue of hospitality, being in his travels in *Phrygia* with *Mercury*, lovingly entertained by *Baucis* and *Philemon*, when no body else would receive him, in requital thereof, he preserved the house from the Earth quake, and made it a Temple.

2ly.

ally, In obedience to the Laws of the City, which expresly commanded them μὴ ξένους μὲν ἀδικεῖν, *not to wrong a stranger*, And this made *Aristippus*, upon *Socrates* his information, presently to remove to *Athens* and dwell there. Nay saies *Tully* *Execrationibus publicis sancitum est &c.* (speaking of refusall to shew a stranger the way) that command was enforced with the penalty of *publique execrations*. Xenoph. l. 2. Απομν. L. de Offic.

If a *stranger* had received any wrong (because they might not be so *familiar* as to do it themselves) there were προξένοι, allowed of purpose to plead for them, as well as πρόξενοι to entertain them. Unless you will say that these last officers were not for ξένοι that is *hospites*, such as tarried a while and away; but for ξένοι that is ἐνοικοι, *inquilini*, such as set up their habitation in the place where they come. For those were made to pay their μετοίκιον, an yearly rent to the City, the men twelve, and the * Women six Drachmes, which if they did not pay they sold them, and put them into the ships for Gally slaves, as not reckoning them *clean* corne, and true Citizens, any more than * *Aristotle*; but onely (in the words of *Aristophanes*) ἄλυρα καὶ ἄσκιν, *the ontcasts and chaffe*, and no more. Even the *Grecians* themselves (as *evill beasts* as they were) seem to have had *humanity* enough in this respect. Otherwise what meant their ξενικὰ τράπεζαι, two distinct Tables, and a Chamber kept a purpose for strangers? The very Souldiers at the taking of *Troy*, so much valued the hospitality shewed by *Antenor* to *Menelaus*, as to spare his house alone. * Isæus contr. Elpagor. * L. 3. Polit. Athenæus.

I must confesse indeed the *Lacedemonians* bear but ill for their ξενηλασία, and *Lycurgus* his Law against admittance of strangers, but upon certain daies, and their dealing deceitfully with them then too. Which made the Poet (even in *jest*) brand them with the name of διερρυτόξενοι. Nay it is said how that they never made any ἀστοξενίαν, (as they called it) *free of their City*, but onely two. *viz. Tisamenus* the Poet, and his brother *Hegias*. But I still hope, their ξένοι *strangers*, were all one with οἱ βάρβαροι *Barbarians*, for whom the word is often used, saies *Herodotus*, and the Scholiast upoon *Homer*. For else

certainly *Plato* would never have given ſuch commendations of their *Policy*, though it be as proper to the *nature* of (as we uſually take it) *policy*, as it is inconſiſtent with the *name* of πολιτικὴ, to care moſt for ones *private* good.

CAP. VII.

De Hoſpitibus excipiendis.

IF the *Athenians* were ſo kind τοῖς ξένοις, to *every ſtranger*, properly ſo called, what were they (think you) τοῖς ἰδιοξένοις, to their *own ſtrangers* (as we uſe to call it) or to their ſworn *gueſts?* Thoſe had their σφράγαλον, or σύμβολον, or τέσσερα *hoſpitii*, ſomething or other like a ticket, to ſhew for their quarter when they came: ſuch as *Jaſon* in courteſy offered *Medea* to help her in the time of exilement.

Ξένοις † πέμπειν σύμβολ' οἱ δεχόμενοί σ' ἴσως.

So farre were the ξενοδόχοι, thoſe that entertained gueſts (you may call them ξένοι too, for it is a name for both, like *hoſpes*, perhaps to ſhew their near relation) from ſo much as ſuſpecting a returne of hatred for kindneſſe, that it coſt *Dio* no leſſe than his life. Who though he were forewarned of an intention of *Callippus* his gueſt to murther him, took no care to avoid him, αἰσχυνθεὶς, *being aſhamed* (ſaies *Plutarch* in his charter *de vitioſo pudore* (φυλάττεσθαι φίλον ὄντα καὶ ξένον to *beware* of one that was his friend and *gueſt* too (as if *that* were more.)

The manner of entertaining ſtrangers was this. As ſoon as ever they ſaw him [a] δεῖπνον ἐπηγάγοντο πρῶτον, the firſt care they had, was to have ſomewhat for him to eate. *Egrèdientem illico è navi adduxit ad cœnam*, ſaies [b] *Terence*. When he came to the doore (as ſome ſay) they both joyned *feet* on the threſhold, and there mutually engaged themſelves to be true and truſty. *Qui recipiebant, & qui recipiebantur veniebant ad oſtium, & ponebant pedem in eo, & confirmabant quod unus non deciperet alium.* And therefore *Hoſpes* is ſaid to be derived from *hoſtium*, or *oſtium* a *doore*, and *pes* a *foot*. When he

[a] Pindar.

[b] In Heaut.

Vetus Diction.

he came in, they called for the *Strangers bottle*; (as he ſaies in *c Electra*, ἀσπὶς ἀν φέρω ξένοις) and drank to him in a cup of Wine, before ever they asked his name (ſaies *Athenæus*) ὡς τῶν ξενίαν αὐτῶν πρώτης, ἀλλ' ἐ τοῦ ἐκ μέρους, *as giving him honour, because he was a ſtranger, not becauſe he was this or that particular man.* Now they uſed Wine rather than any other liquor (ſaies the ſame Author) becauſe they took it to be ἐλκώδεσιν πρὸς εὐνίαν, πυρὸν θερμαίνων ἅμα καὶ ψυχῶν &c. *Powerfull to warme the affection too as well as the ſtomach.* c Eurip. v. 542. Idem. Ibid.

The next thing they preſented him with, was Salt: intimating their friendſhip muſt be ſeaſoned with good carriage, as it might keep long and ſweet. All the time of his being in the houſe, this reſpect he had. They made their own Daughters to attend upon him, to fill drink and the like: nay and to bring him water in a Baſon, and waſh his feet with their own hands. As may be proved by ſeveral places in *Homer* both obſerved and approved by *Athenæus*, who makes it to be an ancient cuſtome παῖδες Ὁμήρου καὶ παῖς ἀδεὴς καὶ παῖς γαμετὴ λούσασα τοὺς ξένους; ἀρχαῖον καὶ τοῦτο ἔθος (ſaith he,) 2. They allotted ξενῶνας, Chambers a part from the reſt, of purpoſe for ſtrangers. Which puts me in mind of *Admetus* in the Poets *Alceſtis*, who when *Hercules* coming to his houſe in a time of Mourning (a thing accounted αἰσχρὸν, ſo *unfit to be ſeen by the ſacred eyes of a ſtranger* (as he there ſaies) was therefore about to be gone again, replyed; *no ſuch need good Hercules, notwithſtanding the mourning in the houſe.* 1. L. 1. d V. 545.

Χωρὶς ξενῶνες εἰσὶν, οὓς σ' εἰσάξομεν. *For we have Chambers on the other ſide of the houſe which wee keep onely for ſtrangers, and you ſhall be there.*

3ly, When they ſate at Meales, they had a table alſo to themſelves, as may be conjectured by that which *Oreſtes* had at his being at *Athens*. Eurip. Elect. 849.

ξένια μονοτράπεζα μοι
Πάρεσχον ἔχων

Laſtly they had τοὺς Κεραμεικοὺς *places* allowed them at the *ſhewes*, inſtituted by *Sphyromachus*. Therefore to return reſpect againe to the people of the houſe, as at his coming into the

Country, he ought to do reverence and Sacrifice to the *Genius* of the place, saluting the ground with a kisse.

Cadmus agit grates, peregrinaque oscula terræ
Ovid. Met. l. 3. *Fecit, & ignotos montes, agrosque salutat.*

So during all the time of his being with them, he was to do Divine Service, τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις θεοῖς unto *their* gods especially, or the gods of the *place*: as *Alexander* did at his being at *Troy*: and as they themselves, if they had been from home at their returne, were to do θεοῖς τοῖς κὼ σέβας, (as *Hercules* calls them) to the *Penates*, the gods of the *house*. In like manner, at his going out of the Countrey, when he came the borders he kisſed the ground, and so took his leave of the *Genius*: as *Ovid* saies.

d Herc. v. 609.

Met. l. 3. *—dant oscula terræ Troades—*

Whensoever the party had a mind to be gone, it was counted an incivility to detaine him. *Menelaus* accordingly practised, and left it for a rule.

Χρὴ ξεῖνον παρόντα φιλεῖν, ἐθέλοντα δ' πέμπειν.

And parting they usually gave ξενήια δῶρα, or τὰ ξένια, some thing or other for a remembrance, or to bear their charges by the way. Besides every mans private benevolence, there was πανδοχεῖον, a common Hospitall maintained by the City. Where if any strangers, to whom it belonged, were denied entertainment, they might complaine to the Magistrate and be righted. Indeed a murtherer or such like person, they might not by any means πυθέσθαι (as he calls it) entertain him, and give him meat and drink, as being *aqua & igni interdictum*.

CAP. IX.

De Pauperibus sublevandis.

[a] That there may be no poor among you &c. Deuter. 15. 4. So some render

AND now in the last place, I have a word to say also of the good will which the *Athenians* bare to the poor. And certainly if they intended no more than the *Honour of their City*, they would be loath to suffer any to become a begger[a], of whom *Isocrates* saies in his *Areopag.* πάντων μάλιστα τοὺς πένητας

τῇ πόλει, *that he is a diſparagement to the City wherein he lives.* To prevent the diſgrace, every ἑταιρία or *Society*, kept a *poor mans box*, or a common Treaſury, for the reliefe of ſuch as came to poverty, and the ranſome of the Captives. Into that box once every month; they uſed εἰσφέρειν ἔρανον, *conferre eranum* (as *Plutus* ſaies *eranum amici contulerunt*) to put every mans contribution; and from thence were the contributers called by the name of ἐρανισταὶ or ἐράνου πλήρωται. He that thus came to a *gathering* (as we call it) was ſaid συλλέγειν or κομίζεσθαι τὸν ἔρανον, as in *Ariſtotle* (*Atrom. l. 2. c. 5.*) where he makes this inſtance of a thing κατὰ τύχην, *that happened by chance*; if a creditor, ἔχων τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τὸ ἀργύριον λαβὼν ἀπὸ κομίζοιτο τὸν ἔρανον, *with his Bond in his hand ſhould come to his debtor for money, when he with his roll in his hand, was come to the pariſh* (as we ſay) *for a collection.* Such another contribution was that which they called ἔρανον παντῶν, appointed by *Ariſtides* for thoſe that aſſiſted him in the Warre againſt the *Medes*, of which *Ariſtides* in his *Lyſiſtrate*. If there hapned any controverſie in this buſineſſe, there were νόμοι ἐρανικοί, Lawes and Writs made for the purpoſe.

אם כילא אביון יחדל כה

Plato ſpeaks very well of this * cuſtome, and *Trajanus* the Emperour in his anſwer to *Pliny* approves it, permitting the uſe thereof to the *Amiſeni* (for other Cities had it as well as *Athens*) *eo facilius, ſi tale Collationi &c.* * L. 3. de Leg.

Other proviſion there was beſides this *eranus*, for their reliefe. For the richer ſort were wont every new moon, to make a great feaſt of Bread, & other courſe fare for this purpoſe. Which feaſt being chiefly intended to the honour of *Hecate*, gave occaſion to them to call every courſe, beggerly feaſt, by the name of *Hecates cœna* But as bad as the fare was, the *perſon* in *Plauto Ariſtophanis*, took his argument even from thence to commend the condition of the poor, above that of the rich. Saies he — παρὰ δὲ Ἑκάτης ἔξεστι τοῦτο πυθέσθαι,

Εἴτε τὸ πλουτεῖν, εἴτε τὸ μὴ ζῆν κάκιον &c.

Aſk Hecate, and ſhe will tell you which is beſt. To conclude, I have read that they had a *Lucar*, money allowed them out of the Treaſury, to pay for *places* at the *Playes* and *Shewes*.

De Ritibus Bellicis.

CAP. I.

De Militibus.

SECT. III. HAving spoken of the customes used by the *Athenians* amongst *themselves*, it will be fitting in the next place to say something of those which they used towards their *enemies*; and after that of those towards either, or both in Divinations.

The Warlike provision which they made for the defence of the City, was partly this. The young men being listed *inter Ephebos* (which was as I told you at the age of eighteen) were from that time till twenty, ἐν τοῖς περιπόλοις, (as they called it) that is, they must be *circitores* or *fraxatores*. Or they must περιπολεῖν τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν φρούρια stand sentinell and keep Guards in the Forts, and be employed in the making of Works, and the like according to that of *Terence, Video heri-lem filium minorem huc advenire: Miror, quid ex Pirao abierit, nam ibi publicè est nunc.* The first of the two yeares they kept within the City, but the second they proceeded to the Suburbs; and in token of the degree they had taken, they received of the people a sheild, and a Spear, and a χλαμὺς or Coat for a Livery. During these two yeares, they could not be compelled to fight ἐπὶ τὸ περίπολον, *without the Liberties*. But ever after till forty they might. And both the first, and every year after, till the end of forty two yeares, (as I take it) they had their own names, together with the name of the Ἐπώνυμος, registred in this manner, ὅδε ἦρξε ἀπὸ τούτου Ἐπωνύμου, *Such a one in pay, ever since such a one was Archon Eponymus*: to shew how long every man had been in service. Of these Ἐπώνυμοι, there were twenty two, according to the number of the yeares from eighteen to forty. They are called Ἐπώνυμοι λέξεις, from

Harpocr.

* In Eunuch.

Ulpian. ad Olymp.

from the λοχιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον, in which they listed their names after they were twenty years old, and sometimes Ἐπώνυμοι ἡλικιῶν, because they thus kept a name of every mans *age*: in opposition to Ἐπώνυμοι τῶν φυλῶν, who were but to keep a note of their *Tribes*. Now some there were that were *exempted*, and some that were *excluded* from that service: the former were such as Custom-holders εἰ τὸ τέλος παρέδοσαν, who therefore had the priviledge ἀτελείας: or the χορδωνῆς, ἢ, ὅσοι τῷ Διονύσῳ χορδεύοντες, *Bacchus* his *Salii*, or *dauncing Priests*. The latter were οἱ δοῦλοι, slaves, and all such *proletarious* People, who were not to be imployed but in case of necessity, nor had the honour ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις παρεδρεύειν, which the others had. For *they*, as soon as they had taken the oath in the Temple of *Agraulus* ἐν τῷ ἐνυαλίῳ τὸν ὅρκον, were listed by the Πολέμαρχος, or General (as many as he κατέλεξε, *made choice* of, after the manner of the Roman *Delectus*) in the στρατολογία, or Muster role, which he kept for the same purpose, having beside that another πίναξ or Table book, for such as were *Emeriti*, *out of service*, and discharged. After they had been listed by the General, they were to be listed again by the under officer; the ὁπλῖται, or the foot by the τάξιαρχοι, and the Horse-men by the Φυλάρχοι. The ὁπλῖται were of three sorts. First those more especially so called, such as used much armour, βαρυπανοπλίαν ὁπλίται & were *gravis armaturæ milites*, with their wide Shields and long Spears. 2ly Γυμνῆτες *Levis armaturæ milites*, such as had little or no Armour, but carried Arrowes, and Darts, and Stones for the sling. And 3ly Πελτασταί, a middle sort between both, with their πέλται or ἀσπίδια, *narrow sheilds*, *and short Speares*. Such as they made choyce of for Horsemen, were to be δυνατοὶ τοῖς σώμασι καὶ τοῖς χρήμασι (saies *Xenophon*) *able both in body and purse*; and therefore were to be examined first by the *Senate* of 500, before they could be listed; and so were likewise the Horses themselves, to try whether they were ἀκροποδισταὶ, or ὀρθοπόδαι (as the Scholiast calls it) *Neyse proofe*. And this they did τῷ κυνηγετικῷ λίθῳ, with a *Bell*, or a *Kettle drum*, or a *Pipe*, I know not which I shall render it. And now I am put in

Aristot. de Rep. Ath.

Κρανὸς λόφος. The thing or the part wherein, or whereto it was faſtned they called *Ζώνωμα*, and to faſten it *σφιγκτῆρα*.

Homer.

Πλοκωὶ δ' οἱ χευοφ' ἑκάτερθε ἰοῦσιν ἔπασσε.

The Creſt was double or treble, according to the quality of the perſon. For if he were an *heros* it might be treble, ſaies *b Euripides*, and *quadruple*, ſaies *c Apollonius*.

b In Oreſt.
c L. 3.

Τετραφάλῳ τοίνυν λόφῳ ἁπλάμενος κόρυθι.

The ſtuffe whereof it was made, was uſually feathers, and the hair of a Horſe taile, and thence it is that it is called *ἱππουρὶς* and *ἱππόκομος πτερόφαλος* in *d Theocritus*; and that it is ſaid *ἐπιξύσσεσθαι* when the hair fell off. The other parts of the Helmet bare the name of that part of the head to which they belong, as *ὀφρύες* the *eyebrows*, and the reſt, except the *Pentheuſe* τὸ γάνωσον. Of the *Shield*, both the *matter*, and the *forme*, was of ſeveral kinds, for ſometimes it was made of Oziers woven together, according to that of *Virgil*.

d Id. 23.
e Ariſtoph. Pace.

Æn. 7.

—*flectuntque ſaligna*
Umbonum crates— (but then they

Heſyh.

called it *ἰτέα*) and ſometimes of wood: but moſt commonly of raw Oxe-hides, or of pieces of Leather, doubled or laid one upon the other. *Ovid* ſaies *Ajax* had *Septemplicem clypeum*, a Buckler that had ſeven pieces or foldings in it, and *Achilles* another that had ten. Neither was this all, for it was done over with Braſſe beſides, as that of *Achilles* was,

—*& as & proxima rupit*
Terga novena boum, decimo tamen orbe moratum eſt.

a Troad. v. 1336

And therefore in *a Euripides* it is called χαλκήρης ἀσπίς. For the forme of it, it was ſometimes long, ſometimes round, and ſometimes ſquare. The names of the ſeveral parts of it you may have in *I. Pollux. L.* 1. *c.* 10. Onely thus much I may tell you, firſt for the making of them, that it was wont to be done with a great deal of curioſity, both for ſhew and for uſe, as having μύγγες ornaments to be ſeen, and μυγχοὶ ἀσπίδων little holes to ſee others by, ſet in the *ἴτυς*, or the border. And 2ly, for the invention of them, the handle by which they held it, called *ἐχάνη*, or *πόρπαξ*, or *ὄχανον*, was invented by the *Curetes*, and thence it was that *Anacreon* called it κουρητικὸν

2d

γὴς ὀχανον: and ſo were likewiſe the *umbilicus*, and the *armes*, and moſt of the reſt. In memory of this invention, when they buried any man, they uſed to put a Shield and a Creſt into the Grave along with him. The *Armes*, (τὰ σημεῖα, or σήμαια) were different, according to the quality of the *bearer*. *Ulyſſes* had his λαφανόσημον; *Idomeneus* Grand-child to *Sol* a *Rouſt-cock* the *avant courrer* to the *Sun*. But the *Heroes* anciently, and for the moſt part, uſed to bear Eagles, ἀετοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν χαλκῶν τὸ πάλαι ἐποιοῦντο. To the Arms, they added *verſes* in commendation of the proweſs of the Perſon by which he deſerved thoſe Armes, and the names of the maker; ſuch *Pauſanias* relates upon that of *Idomeneus*. The *caſe* or *Theca* wherein the Shield was put, they called σάγμα, a name (it may be) for any other the like *caſes*, according to that in *Andromache*. Strabo l. 14. ✠ Ariſtoph. in Ran. In Eliatr.

Καλλίσω τό γ' ἐν πολλαῖς σάγμασι Eut. v. 617.

Rhodiginus ſaies, that in the uſe of the ſhield, there were ſome things which they obſerved to be *ominous*: for if it happened to ſtrike their knee, they counted it lucky: but if they ſtruck it with their Speare, 'twas an ill-ſigne. The moſt famous ſhield that ever I read of in heathen writers, was that of *Jupiter Aegiochus*, named Αἰγὶς, becauſe he covered it with the skin of his nurſe the goat called *Amalthea*; this ſhield he beſtowed upon *Minerva*, who ingraved upon it the *Stone-making* or *aſtoniſhing* head of *Meduſa*. Whether that *Scutum ſacrum* which *Alexander* is ſaid to have ſtolne, and to have carried alwaies before him, were the ſame with this or no, I know not. Their ſhields when they laid them up in the Temples (as the faſhion was alſo for the other ſorts of armes) they ſuffered not to have their πόρπακες handles, (or ſome ſuch neceſſary appurtenances) that ſo in caſe there ſhould be any inſurrection, they might be the leſſe ready for uſe; which was the cauſe why he in the Poet cryed out ſo as he did, when he ſaw it otherwiſe. L. 21. c. 14

Οἵ μοι πάλας ἔχων γε πόρπακας!

For ſaies another a little before.

Οὐ γὰρ ἐγχλῶ, εἴπερ φιλεῖς ἐμῶν ἐν σφετέροις

Ταῦτας ἐὰν αὖ τὰς πλείους πέφυκεν ἔχειν θώρακας.

The *Coats of Mail* were of three ſorts: the firſt ζῶμα, which reached from the navell to the knees: the ſecond ἡμιθωράκιον, which covered halfe the breſt, ſuch as *Polyænus* reports to have been much uſed by the Souldiers of *Alexander* the Great: The third θώραξ, which reached from the ſhoulders to the navel, ſo called ἀπὸ τοῦ θεῖον ἀείρειν, from *preſerving* the *heart*, and the breſt: from which peculiar office of it, *Ariſtophanes* in *Acharnenſibus*, borrows the word θωρήξασθαι, for to ſignifie to be well nigh drunk, (as we ſay when we have well eaten or drunken, that we are well armed againſt the cold) and ἀκροθωρηξας, to ſignifie ἀκροκαθύσας, *drunk to the top*. Now a *Thorax* was either πανδὸς *all of one piece*, *plain* like ποικίλης χιτῶνος *recta tunica*: or elſe ἁλυσιδωτὸς, with *chaines* or plates of iron put between the leather (as it is in our Coats of Mail.) the *leather* I ſay, becauſe it was uſually made of a hide (τὸ Χιτὼν) as the *Scuta* were,

Etymol.

—τὰ δ' ὅπλα καὶ Χιτὼν

So they ſay that the Latine word *Lorica* comes from *Lorum* the dryed and tanned hide, whereof it was made. According to that of *Virgil*,

Ariſtoph. in Pace.

Cui pellis latos humeros exempta juvenco
Pugnatori operit.

The holes where they put out their armes *Ariſtophanes* calls σκαλμίδας, by a Metaphor from the hole of a boat, where they put out the Oares.

The *Colour* moſt in uſe upon their Armes, Cloathes, or creſts, &c. was crimſon red, either to make themſelves the leſſe afraid, if they ſaw their blood, being uſed to the colour; or elſe that the enemy might be the leſſe able to perceive it, if they ſhould chance to be wounded. From the *Phœnician* colour, the *Lacedemonians* called their Coat (or Creſt, or what is it) φοινικίδα. In alluſion to whoſe *red bloody* colour, the Poët in *Acharnenſes* ſpeaking of having a few beaten till the blood came, thus expreſſes it:

Ariſtoph. in Pace.

Μὴ 'κ καταξαίνειν ἄνδρα τῦλον εἰς φοινικίδα.

Let's card him and work him, and belabour him, 'till we make his skin like a φοινικίς.

To

To carry the *Provision* in, every man had his γύλιν, or Idem.
ὀψοδήκην φατνιτικὴν a kind of *basket (fiscinam)* made of Oziers (πάγαι) with a long narrow neck. And therefore the Poët having used the word γύλιν, to signifie such a thing, in the same Comedy uses the word γυλιαυχένας, to signifie *men that had a neck as long as that thing.* Their ordinary provision was Cheese, & Olives, and Onions. Their quantity commonly so much as would serve for three dayes, according to that of the same Poët still, and in the same Comedy, where speaking against the troublesome life of a Souldier, among other troubles he reckons in *viz.*

Ἐντροπὴ τὰ γὰρ ἡμερῶν τεττάρων.

Those too often repeated *Orders for three dayes provision.*

CAP. III.

De Armis quibus vim inferebant.

THE *Armes*, or the *Weapons* they used to fight with, were in ancient time clubs (used also for putting of Malefactors to death) called by * *Homer* φάλαγγες, according to that of *Horace*, *Il. 4.

Unguibus & pugnis, dein fustibus, atque ita porrò
Pugnabant armis quæ post fabricaverat usus.

But afterward they came to Speares, a weapon so highly esteemed, that some would not stick to adore it; as may be gathered by the words of *Eustathius*: ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ σκῆπτρα οὐ τὸ ὀρθὸν ἀκροστόλιον τῦτο σεβάσασθαι λέγεσθαι. Where λέγεσθαι, some say signifies to worship, and so they say of the word *numerare*, used by *Cicero* in his book *De Nat. Deorum. Novi ego Epicureos omnia figilla numerâtes.*) Thus it is reported of one *Pheraus Alexander* a Tyrant, that having killed his unkle *Polyphron* with his Speare, he took it and crowned it with Garlands, and caused it to be adored by the name of πάλον. One would have thought it sufficiently honoured, to be used by Kings instead of Scepters, as *Justin* saith it was; or at most to *have a place* in the Temple: or else to have been *dedicated* to a

god, as *Plutarch* saith it was to Pallas, (because of πάλλειν the proper word for δόρυσσειν) & to be joyned to the statue of the god: for so it commonly was among the Latines especially, whence it came that *hasta mota, speaking of the Speares,* so often spoken of by *Livy* and others, was accounted such a grand *prodigium.* If there were none of this, yet the respect they gave to them will sufficiently appear, in the care they took of the keeping them. For while they slept in the field they fastned it εἰς σαυρωτῆρα, which *Pollux* interprets, the *butt-end* of the Speare made (it may be) with a *crosse* for the better hold fast, *quasi* σαυροῦσθαι from σαυρός. But *Eustathius* saith it was an iron with a sharp tail like a snake, to be set in the ground, and hollow head, to set the speare in, from σαῦρος *Lacerta*, a *Lizard*, which it resembled. When they came home, they set it in a long wooden *case*, made of purpose by a pillar of the house.

Odyss. 1. Ἔγχος δ' ἐ ἐστηῶτα παρ' ἔσσεσι μακρὸν ἐρείσας
Δουρὸς ἐϋκτιμένου ἐν παναπήνῃ ἐύξόῳ.—

saith *Homer*, and *Virgil* has the like.

Æn. 12. *Exin qua mediis ingenti adnixa columna*
Ædibus astabat, vi olidam vi corripit hastam.

The custome first πάλλειν to *vibrate* the Speare before they used it, to try the strength of it, was so constantly kept that ἐγχέσπαλος, a *shake-Speare*, came at length to be an ordinary word both in *Homer* and in other Poets to signifie a *Souldier.* When the Greeks began the use of Bowes, I know not: but it seems they had such things, and *Hesychius* in the word ἰτωνία, saies they made the *strings* of *Horses hair.* Swords likewise they had, which they used to hang by their sides, διὰ τελαμώνων by *belts*, or strings of leather, as they did the shields: and the strings came over the shoulders as ours do.

Οἱ δὲ μὲν ἀμφὶ μελάνδετον ἆρ' ἔχειτο.

σχ. on 111. γ. Hesiod. What other offensive armes they had I know not. But the Scholiast upon *Euripides*, in one place reports, that about the time of the Theban Warre, they excelled most in the *defensive* and that the Barbarians were better at the offensive.

CAP.

CAP. IV.

De ritu excipiendi legatos, indicendi Bellum, consulendi deos, observandi dies, & trajiciendi fluvios.

A Scarefull and as cunning as they were in Warlike affaires, I cannot find but that they did *proprè signi quæ piget inchoare, beare* a greater affection to *Peace*: as may appear in their honourable receiving of Embassadors, to whom they gave *hearing* in no worse place than a *Temple*; [a] and their *entertainment* in the *Prytaneum*. The usuall ensign carryed by Greek Embassadors, was κηρύκιον, *caduceus*, a *right staffe* of wood with snakes twisted about it, and looking one another in the face. Whether this was to affright them from discord, and to put them in mind of the *Serpents teeth* (a seed of dissention sometime sown by *Cadmus* among *Draco's* friends) 'tis but εἰκάζειν *my conjecture*; and a bolt perhaps too *soone shot* to hit the marke. An Embassadours allowance was two ἡμέραι a day, which they usualy called θοινᾶσθαι. If the Peace could not be *kept*, but they must needs have warre; yet they would be sure to give warning, and faire play, and make Proclamations of their intentions, before they marche. The manner in proclaiming Warre, was to send a fellow of purpose, either to cast a Speare, or let loose a Lamb into the borders of the Country, or into the City it selfe, whether they were marching (which *Hesychius* rather thinks to have been the signall before a battle) thereby shewing them μᾶλλον αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν ἔσεσθαι ἢ τῶν πολεμίων, that what was then a habitation for *men*, should be shortly a pasture for *sheep*, and what was then pasture for their *own* sheep, should be shortly turned to the use of their *enemies*. Before they set forward upon a March, you will not think how exact they were in preparation; considering, and examining whether it were convenient or not: the Gods must be sacrificed to, the Prophets and Diviners sought to, and all the old Oracles and Prophecies concerning the City searcht into: for this course the

[a] Demoss. π. παραπρεσβ.

Etym.

σχ Homer in Batrochom.

Diogenian.

b Πέλλης δ' ὁ ὄπλοις σφάγια δ' ἠλοιμαζμένα, Εσται, εἰς χιλιᾶς τὰ τεμεσθαι ἐνιαυτόν, ἐπὶ δ' ἐκείνῳ τὸν ὑπὸ τριακάδα τ' ἐχθρῶν, ὑπὲρ πάλεως πάσης, χρησμῶν δ' αἰδὲς πάντας εἰς ἓν ἀγείρας. Ηλειξα καὶ βεβηλα καὶ κεκυμένα λόγια παλαιᾶ τῇ γῇ σωτήρια. Arist. Eq.

the b Tragœdian makes to have been taken by *Dimophon* of Athens, upon the coming of *Euristhenes*. Then besides this, after the manner of others Nations, Jewish, Latine, and Persian, they used to vow one thing or other to be devoted and consecrated to the gods in case they prevailed: such as was that of the Tithe of the men to *Apollo*, and many other vows of the like price. Nay the *Athenians* were so over-lavish in this kind, that once there came an Oracle from *Jupiter Hammon*, testifying the gods dislike of such courses, and commending the frugality of the *Lacedemonians*.

In like manner were they superstitious in the observation of *dates*. For as the *Lacedemonians* thought it not good to march ἐντὸς πανσελήνου; till the *full* of the Moone: so neither did they think it lucky either to march ἐντὸς ἑβδόμης, till the *seventh* day of the Month, or to make any Commanders till the *new* of the Moon. In marching, the Generall used always ἔχειν τὸ κέρας δεξιὸν to *keep himselfe on the right horne*, or *wing*. The Souldiers but newly entred (οἱ ἐνλέπτοι) kept themselves ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τοῦ κεκινδυνευκότος, *in those parts*, or those *Corporæ* (as the Romans called them) which were lesse in danger, such kind of service was from thence called σωτήια ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι, and sometimes πρόδρομα. When they came to a River, before they went over they would be sure to Sacrifice by it, which they called θύειν τὰ διαβατήρια. No passing without a prayer,

—εὐξάμενος δ' ἔπειτα ἰδὼν ἐς καλὰ ῥέεθρα.

The Romans alwaies observed the like custome, when they came to *Petronia*, (a River that runs into *Tiber*) commonly calling the action *Peremnè auspicari*.

Suidas.

Hesiod. l. 2.

Festus.

CAP. V.

De ritu Committendi prælium, & de usu tubarum.

WHen they fought a Battle, after they had killed a *victime* and lookt upon the gall, then away to the *Torches*: for πυρσέοις ἀντὶ σαλπιγκτῶν, instead of sounding a Trumpet,

pet, they had fellowes whom they called πυρφόρους, that were before with Torches, and throwing them downe in the midst between the two Armies gave the signe.

Prima manu rutilam de vertice Lariſſæo Statius Th. 4.
Obtrudit Bellona facem.

Lycophron in his ἐχθρᾶς πυρσὸν, and *Pindar* in δόμον πυρσὸν ſeem to allude to this *incentive* or *incendiary*. Now this buſineſſe they might do ſafely, and without any danger, ἀσφαλῶς ἀνυπόπτως. For the *Torch-bearers* were peculiarly protected by *Mars*, and accounted *ſacred*, * ἱεροὶ ἦσαν: inſomuch that it became a proverb, when any Army was totally defeated, ὅλος ὁ πυρφόρος ἐκαύθη. Thoſe *Torches Euripides in Rheſus* calls πυρὸς λαμπάδας, where he ſaies that the *Achivi avoided* them, that is, refuſed the fight. * σχ. in Eurip. Phœn. ἐσπένδοντο δὲ οἱ πυρφόροι αὐτοῖς καὶ πάντες ἀπέπλεον.

——πύρὸς λαμπάδας ἐξήνεγκε πολίταν
Φεύγειν Ἀχαιούς.

Qui elatus es, audiens faces
Fugere Achivos. (better in my mind than *Qui audiens ignis faces accenſas addactus eſt, ut credat fugere &c.*) Nay, not only when they would ſignifie their intentions to *fight* with the enemy, *to the enemy himſelf*: but alſo when they would ſignifie his approach to *others*, to have their aſſiſtance, they made uſe of Torches too, which they called φρυκτοὺς. The word is rendred *faces*, and you may render it *Brands*, or *Beacons* if you will, for they are made of dry wood, or ſticks, that would quickly take fire, as our Beacons are. And they had men ſtill who did φρυλάττειν *keep* φρυκτωρίας *Watches* in the * Towers or Forts, as we do at the Beacons. If the enemy came in the night, they fired the Brands, if he came by day, they raiſed a ſmoke. But I muſt tell you, there were φίλιοι φρυκτοὶ, Torches or Brands, to be lighted upon the approach of their friends too, as well as πολέμιοι. But with this diſtinction, that φίλιοι were held, or let lye ſtill: but the πολέμιοι were toſſed and ſhaken to and fro. χ. In Homer Il. ζ. * καὶ τρυχλοῖ. ὡς ἐν τῇ σικίννῃ, Ariſtoph. in Avib.

But thoſe Torches *laſted* not always. For afterwards they came to make uſe of Trumpets, according to that of *Æſchylus* In Perſis.

Σάλπιγξ δ' αὐτῇ πᾶσ' ἐπήρχε γῆν.

In or *accendit* ſtill, perhaps in a metaphor from the fire of the *Torches* once in uſe. The firſt invention of the Trumpet is attributed by the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides* to the *Tyrrheni*, from whom it is conceived to have been firſt brought into Greece by one *Archidas* an aſſiſtant to the *Heraclidæ*, as the ſame Scholiaſt reports in the ſame place, ἀφ' οὗ ὁ Ἀρχίδας συμμαχῶν τοῖς Ἡρακλείδαις ἦγαγε τὴν τυρσηνικὴν σάλπιγγα· εἰς ἔλεγχον. And therefore he calls the Trumpet τυρσηνικὸν, *viz.* from the inventers; As the Poet himſelf had done before, both in his *Phœniſſæ*, and his *Heraclidæ*. where he ſaies it was uſed when they joyned Battle, and that then it ſounded *b* ὄμβριον a *long blaſt*, like that in the book of *Judges* (but of this word I have ſpoken before.) There was a time when ſhields did ſerve for Trumpets *concheque ſonantes*: and then you might eaſily conſtrue that riddle of *Theognis*.

In Phœn.

a Ἐπὶ δ' ἐσάλπισ', ὄμβριον τυρσηνικὴν Σάλπιγγ', ὡς ἀσπίδων ἀλλήλοις μάχην. v. 830. bC. 6. §.

Ἦδη γὰρ κόχλοισι διαλέσσω οἵδε νεκροὺς
Τεθνηκὼς ζωὸν φθεγγόμενος ἔσομαι.

CAP. VI.

De Scytale, de Militum pœnis & præmiis & Sepulturâ.

IF it went well with the Army in the fight, the meſſenger that was ſent with the newes was adorned with Garlands. In the mean time thoſe that were at home and continually lookt for newes, uſed to ſacrifice to the gods in the waies, ὡς ἂν εἰ ἀγαθὰ εἴη, ἐπιφέροντα τοῖς, ἢν δὲ τἀναντία, ἐπιστάντα, *If it were good, to bring it along the way to them, if not, to be there in the way and ſtop it.* For cloſe conveying of the intelligence I ſuppoſe they had ſeverall waies. Whether they made uſe of the *Lacedemonians* σκυτάλη, I know not. If you pleaſe, you may read the diſcription thereof in A. *Gellius* at full: or in the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes* in his *Aves*. Where he ſaies, that they made them two ſtaves or rods ἰσομήκεις of *a length*, one to be kept at home, and the other to be carryed by the General along with him. When they meant to ſend him any private meſſage, they took a piece of σκύτος a skin, or parchment,

c Ἐπὶ καταστροφῇ πόλεμου, ὁρῶ &c. Soph. Trach: χ. In Ariſtoph. Eq.

L. 17. c. 9.

ment, and wrote upon it, ſo as it could not be underſtood, unleſs it were rolled upon thoſe ſtaves, and the parchment and the ſtaffe one applied to the other. This Lacedemonian trick (as it ſeems by the Poet, whether he ſpake in jeſt or in earneſt, I cannot tell) was imitated by the Athenians, among a great many other things, out of a *Laconomany*, as he terms it, or a humour like that of the Engliſh towards the French.

Ελληνομαίης πάντες ἀνθρωποι τόδε
Σκυτάλῃ ἐτόρευε.

If any one turned αὐτομόλος, *transfuga*, or betrayed the place committed to him, he ſuffered death. If he had been ἀστράτευτος, and *would* not, or δειλὸς and *could* not fight for fear, or if λελοιπὼς τὴν τάξιν, or ῥίψασπις, he had *left his rank* or *thrown down* his *Armes*, he was regiſtred and delivered to the *Heliaſta* to be puniſhed as they pleaſed, and not to come to the Temples, till he had ſatisfied juſtice. If they had taken any man alive, they were not to kill him afterward. Vide ſupr. Æſchines contra Cteſiph Eur ip. Acracl. v. 666.

Οὐ χ ἥπτηρ ἂν γε ζῶν' ἁλῶσιν ἐν μάχῃ.

Such as were maimed, were to be allowed two ὀβολοὶ, ſaies *Heſychius*: (but *one* ſayes *Harpocration*) every day out of the publick Treaſury: but firſt they were to be examined by the Parliament of *five hundred*, whether they were ἀδύνατοι Vid Supr. now ἀδύνατοι were οἱ ἐντὸς τριῶν μνῶν κεκτημένοι, ſaies *Harpocration*, thoſe whoſe eſtates came not to ſo much as three *mina*. Such as were *ſlain*, their Children were maintained out of the publick Treaſure, till they came to be twenty years old, and then they had a πανοπλία, a *Suit of Armes* beſtowed upon them, ἀναμιμνήσκοντα τῶν τῆς πατρὸς ἐπιτηδευμάτων, *to put them in mind of their fathers exploits*, and to keep them from degenerating. They had the honour alſo προεδρίας, of having the formoſt ſeat at *ſhewes*. If they buried the party ſlain in the ſame place (as they did all at *Marathon* fight) the faſhion was then to make a ſhield his *Bier*, as it was before to make it his *cradle*, according to thoſe words of the Lacedemonian *virago* to her Son, as ſhe was helping on his ſhield, ἢ τὰν, ἢ ἐπὶ τᾶς, either do thou bring *the ſhield home again*, or Plato.

[a] Arma supervehetis quid, Thrasibule, tua? Auson Epig. 24.

let the shield bring [a] *thee* nay and to make it his Coffin too sometimes, as it seemes by the saying of *Talthybius* in *Euripides* concerning *Astianax*.

Αλλ' ἀντὶ κλόης, ἐκβόλαντες πάτου
Ες τᾶς ζ δαΐας παῖδα.

At the buriall, the rest of his company Marched in equipage thrice about the *Pyra*, shaking their Armes and throwing their swords, bridles, belts, or one thing or other, into the fire or the grave after him. But for the most part they were allowed a publique burial upon the common charge, at home in the *Ceramicus* all together. And then three dayes before the burial, the bones being laid up in Tents, upon the burial day, every Tribe brought a Coffin of Cypresse wood, and carrying away each one their bones, put them in the ground with several pillars and inscriptions, and one solemne speech for all. Such as came off with life and honour, were allowed to have their Armes in their Shields, or else placed in the ἄν, and honoured with the name of *Cecropidæ, Citizens of the true old blood*: according to that

Thucid. l. 3.

Ου καλλίονες Κεκροπίδαι ἔδην' ἐγώ.

Sometimes such as had the *first fruits* (or the *prime*) of the spoyles, were adorned with a golden στέφανος:

Euripid. in Phœn. Ibid.

Καὶ τόδ' ἀχρυσῶν στέφανον αἰσθήσεις ἔχων
Δαΐων ἀπαρχὰς πολεμίων σκυλεύμασι.

CAP. VIII.

De Trophæis.

FOr *memorials* of the victory, ἀνίσταντο τρόπαια, *they erected Trophies*: (you may write τροπαῖα, if you had rather follow the most [a] ancient, than that which is newest in fashion.) Trophies were usually *pillars* of brasse, or stone, or wood. And the wood sometimes *olive* (τὰ τρόπαια ἐκ τούτου οἱ παλαιοὶ ἐστήσαν, saies *Dionysius*) and sometimes the trunk of an *Oake*.

[a] Οἱ μὲν παλαιοὶ Ἀττικοὶ σκληρότερον, οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι μαλακώτερον χ. In Aristoph. Plut.

—*Quercusque trophæis Gloria tremens*—

Those

1. Thoſe Pillars among *them* anſwered to the *arma triumphalia* among the Latines. Only *that* might be overthrown, but *theſe* might neither be taken away, nor reſtored again, if conſumed with age or the like, ἵνα μὴ ἀναλαμβάνωσι τὸ κοινὸν ἐπὶ ὀδυνῶν δὲ καὶ φιλοτιμίαν, leaſt they *ſhould* thereby *rub up the old ſore and revive the grudge with their enemies*. And therefore ſayes the ſame Author, ὡς καὶ ἀσεβεῖς ἐδόκουν οἱ τροπαῖα ἑστάναι *Thoſe that made them Trophies of Braſs, were looks upon as contentious men, and haters of Amneſty.* Now upon the Trophie, they ingraved an ἐπίγραμμα, declaring the cauſe of the Warre and the manner of the Victory: ſuch a one as *Gelanides* wrote with the blood of the *Argivi*. The like *inſcriptions* many times were written upon other things. For *Pauſanias* having conquered *Mardonius* at *Platea*, did not only at *Byzantium* write upon the *Cup*, which he conſecrated to the gods of the place, (as *Athenæus* reports to his diſpraiſe for his arrogance) but alſo upon a *tripus* beſides, which he cauſed to be made of Gold and ſent to *Delphi*, with this inſcription

Plut. in Roman.

Stobæus de Fortuna.

Thucid. l. 1.

Ἑλλήνων ἀρχηγὸς ἐπεὶ στρατὸν ὤλεσε Μήδων
Παυσανίας τόνδ' ἔστησεν Ἀπόλλωνι ἄνακτι.

Wherewith the *Lacedemonians* being diſpleaſed blotted it clean out and inſtead thereof, engraved the names onely of thoſe Cities, by whoſe help they obtained the victory. And ſo when they overthrew the *Medes* at *Platæa*, they cauſed an inſcription to be ſet upon the vault called Ἐλευθερία. In *Cicero's* time (*in Piſonem*) the cuſtome of erecting Trophies was left off. And therefore he ſayes, that the *Thebans* were accuſed for erecting a Trophy over the *Lacedemonians*. But inſtead of them, they erected ſometimes altars, (as *Alexander* did upon the hill *Amanus*) and ſometimes Images to *Jupiter* τροπαῖος (ſo called from cauſing the enemy τρέπεσθαι to turne their *backs*: as the Romans did to *Jupiter Stator*, for cauſing their own Souldiers to *ſtand* to their ground) ſuch a one as *Hyllus* and Ἰόλαος (as I told you before of καλὸς) *good* & *valiant Jolaus* erected.

a Ἑλλήνων ἀρχηγὸς ἐπεὶ στρατὸν ὤλεσε Μήδων Παυσανίας τόνδ' ἔστησεν Ἀπόλλωνι ἄνακτι.

b In Piſon.

c Εὐρυσθεὺς Διὸς τροπαῖα καλλίνικον ἔστησεν.

Eurip. in Heracl. v. 937.

The *Spoyles*, which they took (ἀκροθίνια from the dead, and ἄκρυα from the *living*) they uſually dedicated to the gods, and ſometimes ſent them to *Delphos*. The common name for ſuch things was ἀνάθημα, *quaſi* ἀνακείμενον, ſaies *Euſtathius*, as if it were ἀφ' ἧς ἀνέθεσαν ἐν μάχῃ πομπῆς: the ſame name which they gave to thoſe goods, wch the Merchants conſecrated for delivery from ſhipwrack (only that then there is a new Etymology, viz. ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνὰ θῖνα ἐκβρασθῆναι διασωθέντας ἐξ ἁλὸς πείρας διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀπολέσθαι τὰ φορτία, because the things were ſaved from being caſt *on ſhore*.) But I rather incline to the *Scholiaſt* upon *Sophocles Trachinia*, who ſaies thoſe ἀπαρχαί, or the *firſt fruits of the ſpoyles* which they Sacrificed to the gods were called ἀνάθημα, becauſe they uſed to lay the ſpoyles, which they had taken together on a heap, and then ἀπ' ἄκρου τοῦ θήνου, they skimm'd away the *Creame*, as I may ſay, or the *Crop*, or the *Choyce* to be given back for the gods that gave them. In alluſion whereunto *Megara* in *Euripides*, ſpeaking what choyce of Wives ſhe had made for her ſons out of *Athens*, *Thebes*, and *Sparta*, expreſſes it thus:

Ἐγὼ γὰρ υἱοῖς ἐκ θεῶν διαζήτουν.

The Armes which they took, ἀνέθεσαν they *hung up* for the moſt part in their Temples (and ſometimes in their own houſes) as they did their *own*, when they left the ſervice, as, *Horace* ſayes, *lib.* 3. *Epiſt.* 1.

a Νίκης ἀναθήματα γίνεται Ἀσπίδες ἢ πτερύγες ἐπικρεμάσαντα μελάθρῳ.

—Veianius armis
Herculis ad poſtem fixis, latet abditus agro.

Some of the ſpoyles they hung upon the Trophies, but *wrote* them b all. For that was the cuſtome, τὰ ζωῦλα ἐπὶ τοῖς τροπαίοις ἐπιγράφειν ſaies the c *Scholiaſt*.

b Τρόπαιά θ' ἱδρυσάμην παλαιστὰς ἐγγράπτους ἔχοντα σκυλεύματα ——
Eurip. Heracl. v. 786.

c In Phœniſ. Eur.

LIBER

LIBER SEPTIMVS.

De ritu Divinandi per motum furentem & somniantem.

THERE were not many things in use among the Jewes the People of God, which the Gentiles *imitatorum pecus*, do not seem to have imitated, and so *vice versâ*. Such as the Prophets were among them, such were the *Magi* among the Persians, the *Chaldei* among the *Assyrians*, *Gymnosophistæ* among the Indians, the *Gallicolæ* among the Sicilians, and the *Hetrusci* among the Italians. Neither was the *honour* or *credit* of *Divination* lesse than the *use*. For if we may believe [a] *Strabo* Οἱ πάντες σημαντικοὶ ἐτιμῶντο, καὶ ἐβασίλευον, *many of their old Prophets have been thought worthy to be Kings*: To a Persian King it was *necessary*, to any other *convenient*. *Amphilochus*, and *Mopsus* Kings of the *Argivi* were *Augurs* too. *Helenus* and *Cassandra* Children of a King; one was an *Augur*, and the other a *Sybill*. But to a *Physitian*, it was reckoned so necessary, that *Æschylus* has used ἰατρὸς a *Physitian*, and μάντις a *Prophet*, one for the other, which made *Achilles* in time of the Pestilence, to seek to μάντιν for a cure. The Scholiast upon *Homer* speaks of two men, *Melampus* and *Polyidus*, that were excellent in both Professions. Credit it had among the best Philosophers (especially that of Dreames, and *Enthusiasmes*) maintained by *Plato* and the Socraticks, *Zeno* and the *Stoicks*, *Aristotle* and the Peripatetick. *Pythagoras* indeed was against *extispicium*, Divination by entrails and only *Epicurus* against that and all the rest. SECT. I.

[a] L. 16.

Prediction of things to come, was either from *men*, called *Mantia*: or from the *Gods*, properly called χρησμοὶ, *an Oracle*. According to that of the [a] Scholiast upon *Sophocles* χρησμοὶ τοῦ Διὸς μαντεῖα δ' ἀνθρώπων. Indeed *Divinatio* seems to be

[a] In Oed. Tyr.

be the *genus*, and χρησμὸς the *species*. The same Prophesy which when it was spoken by a god, was a χρησμὸς, when it was delivered by [b] men was μαντεία. In the *Oracles* the word was *Fari (neque me Apollo fatis fandis dementem invitam ciet)* where as in the *other* it could be but *præsagire* at the wisest. The faculty in the first ἡ μαντικὴ (as we now call it, [c] ἀπεικότως τὸ τ' ἐμβαλόντι) or ἡ μαντικὴ as *Plato* called it (for, as *Tiresias* said, ᾧ τὸ μαντεύεσθαι πολὺ μᾶλλον ἔχει) is divided by *Plutarch*, and *Cicero*, in τεχνικὴν *artificiosam*, that which is acquired by observation and experience, *observatis longo tempore significationibus &c.* And 2ly, Ἄτεχνον ἀδίδακτον *naturalem*, for which we take little or no paines. These two *species* are said to be ὁ διττὸς δόμος μαντοσύνας, the *twins*, or double legacy, which *Apollo* bequeathed to *Junus* his sonne, and to his Family after him. The natural or infused faculty of Divination, most properly called μαντικὴ, proceeded first *à motu furente*, from a *Frantick motion*. Which though they took it for a help to prophesy; yet it seems rather to have been a punishment sent from God, who in the Prophesy of *Isaiah. c* 44. *v.* 25. Said he would *make their diviners mad*. And *Cicero* himself saies 'tis very strange, *ut qui humanos sensus amiserit, divinos assecutus sit, that he that hath left his own sense, should be able to know the sense of the gods*. Hitherto you may reduce the Prophetick speeches of dying men: such as that of *Rhodius* in *Cicero*, who foretold the death of six men that were of the same age, which should be first, and which next and so along. Or else it proceeded *à motu somnianti*, from a doting dreaming motion. And then they called it ὁ ἐνθουσιαστικὸς, which because it helps nature forward when it is going already, he that had it is by *Plutarch* compared to a stone tumbling down the hill.

The first kind coming by *Enthusiasme* or Inspiration, was either of lesse authority; such as *Cassandra* had, or *Polybius* Prophesying his Sons death, as he went to *Troy*; or *Solon* foretelling the tyranny. Or else of greater, so as to command a beliefe: such as the Sybill women had; or the *Pythia wench*, who delivered the Oracles; which was nothing but a cunning trick,

[b] Ennius.

[c] Plato.

Eurip. in Bacc. 299.

trick, *à vafris quibusdam & quæstuariis inchoatum*, invented for gaine. The difference between those two Prophets consisted in this, that[a] *Terræ vis Pythiam Delphis incitabat, natura Sibyllam.* *Pythia had it inspired or blown into her out of the ground, and the Sibilles had it by nature.* Now, because the number of Oracles, and the superstition was greater in *Greece* and in *Athens* than in any other part of the world, it may not be amisse to speak somewhat of the most noted of them, *viz. Pythium, Dodonæum.* and *Jupiter Hammon's.*

[a] Cic. l. 1. de Divin.

CAP. I.

De Oraculo Pythio.

THE most noted of the three Oracles was the first. It was called *Pythium*, for the same reason that the Woman was called *Pythia. i. e.* either from *Python* the serpent, that lay in the pit, out of which the Oracle came, afterward killed by *Apollo*, who possessed the place by conquest. Or from *Pytho* another name of *Delphos* the place of this Oracle, which came from *Pythus* the sonne of *Delphus*, the sonne of *Apollo*. *Delphos* was as fit a place to distribute Oracles to all the body of Greece as the *navil* is to distribute nourishment to the body of a child. And therefore *Sophocles* calls it μεσόμφαλον μαντῖον; because it was ὀμφαλὸς the *Navill*, or *Umbilicus* the mid'st of *Greece*, (saies *Strabo*) and not of the *World* as *Ovid* would have it *Orbe in medio positi.* And this they came to know forsooth, by the two *Eagles* (saies *Pindar*,) *Crowes* saies some, and others *Swans* which being let fly by *Jupiter*, met both in that place. Nay in allusion to that name of Ομφαλὸς (by which it was commonly called) *Pausanias* saies there was to be seen in the Temple a Navill made of white stone, with a Ribband hanging to it for the Navill string. But *Lactantius* had rather derive it from ὀμφὴ the Oracle. And *Varro* would by no means yeild to have it derived from the Navill, *quoniam neque locus ullus sit terrarum medius, neque umbilicus sit in homine medius.* But the latter reason is defeated by *Vitruvius*,

or by any one elſe. The firſt beginner of the Oracle (ſome ſay was *Tellus*, πρωτόμαντις γαῖα: and ſome *Themis*.

Ἡ μὲν οὖν τοῦ μαντείου ἀρχὴ τοιάδε τις ἐγένετο μυθολογίας ἄξιον.

The firſt beginning of the Oracle, was after this manner. When the place was a Common, the Goats that fed there, comming to a den very large below, with a little mouth at the Top, and looking in, on a ſuddain fell a leaping and making a ſtrange noiſe. He that kept them (*Plutarch* calls him *Coretas*) ſeeing this, ran to the place to know what the matter was, and fell into the ſame frolicke; but propheſied too. And thus it fared with divers others, that came thither to the ſame purpoſe. Nay a great many, with the *breath* πνεῦμα ἐνθουσιαστικὸν, or *anhelitus terræ* (as *Cicero* calls it) that came out of the earth, *expired*. Inſomuch that afterward they ſet a *Three-footed ſtool* upon the hole, and a Maid upon it conſecrated for a Prieſteſſe, whoſe common name was *Pythia*, and her *office* to put the Oracle into verſe and deliver it out. For (ſaies *Plutarch*) the words are hers, only *Apollo* τὰς φωνὰς παρέχει. ἡ δὲ κάτω τῇ λυχνίᾳ πεσοῦσα τὸ μέσον, ſate in under blowing with the bellows to ſet her a *peeping* or a *whiſpering* like thoſe מְצַפְצְפִים in *Iſaiah* c. 8. v. 19. Where he ſpeaks of ſuch ἐγγαστριμάντεις, or *belly* Prophets that *peep* and *mutter*; ſuch as the *Pythia* was, out of whoſe belly the Divel ſpake his propheſies with a ſmall peeping voice like a childs. But that Prophet in another place comes neerer to us, ſaying, *Thou ſhalt ſpeak out of the ground, and thy ſpeech ſhall be low out of the duſt, and thy voice ſhall be as one that hath a familiar ſpirit, out of the ground, and thy ſpeech ſhall whiſper out of the duſt.* Now ſome ſay the *Tripus* whereof I ſpake was a pot filled with *duſt*, thorow which the *afflatus*, the wicked *inſpiration* was to paſſe into the belly of the Wench, and ſo to go forth at her mouth for an Oracle. And therefore it is that thoſe Prophets, which in thoſe times had a familiar ſpirit within them, were commonly called by the name of ἐγγαστρίμυθοι, and προμάντεις, as well as πυθόνες, and ἐνθουσιῶντες, the manner of her ſitting, &c. when ſhe took the ſpirit in, becauſe it may not ſo fitly be expreſſed in Engliſh, I deſire to give you it in the words of the *Scholiaſt*,

As I have heard he lately did in a poſſeſſed Chriſtian in the Town of Barwick. Ch. 29. v. 4.

Plutarch. de Orac. defec. c And Euryclidæ from Euryeles a Prophet of that name.

d Scholiast, Ἐπιμήνιον τὸ τελευτῶν ἢ φαιὸν τὸ τὰλλα πυκνὸν καὶ τοῦτο πνεῦμα διὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐδήλου μᾶλλον, ἢ τὰς τρίχας λύουσα, ἢ ἀφρὸν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ἢμασσομένη ἢ μαινομένη, τὰς μαντείας, ἢ μαινομένη ἐμαντεύετο. She was no sooner inspired, but she fell a tearing her hair, and running round, foaming at the mouth, & cutting her flesh as bad as ever the Prophets of *Baal* did. *Lactantius* thus speaks of their gestures. *Sectis nunquè humeris & utraq; manu districtos gladios exerentes currunt, efferuntur, insaniunt,* But this peeping may not make me prepolterous; and therefore I will tell you more of the Wench and the *Tripus*. The first Maids name that prophesied in that place, was *Phaemonoe*. All the rest were young Virgins, as she was, till *Echecrates*, a Thessalian, deflowred *Phœbus*, and then they made choice of Women of fifty years of age, but made them go in the habit of a Virgin. The a custome of those Virgins was, before they went to *stool:* to wash their bodies, and especially their hair in the fountain *Castalius* (where the Poëts, a people of the like inspiration, and *Vates* too were used to wash)

—κόμας ἡμάσσοντα— when they sate first

on the stool, they used to shake b the Laurel-tree that grew close by the *Tripus*, and sometimes to take the leaves and chew in their mouths, as *Lucian* saies μασωμένη δάφνην, for so other such Women used to do, and therefore *Lycophron* calls *Cassandra* λαιμὸν δαφνοφάγον.

d Aristoph. in Avid.

a σχ. on Eurip. Phœn.

b σχ. on Aristoph.

The first that came to receive an Oracle from them, was *Parnassus*, from whence (some say) the place took its name, whereas before it was *Larnassus* from λάρναξ *Deucalions Ark* that rested there; *fides penes autorem*. As for *Tripus* (called by the Latines *Cortina*, whence *Cortimpotens* for *Apollo*, though *Prudentius* made it but the *cover tripodes Cortina tegit*) It is thought by the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* in *Lysistrate* to have been φιάλη a *Pot* (as I told you before) with a wide mouth, and made of Brasse, but filled with *lots* or *calculi*, cuts or Lottery-pellets (usually put in such pots) whereof those that leapt out of the pot, (ἥλοντο) or leapt and danced in it, when any one came to ask, according to the signification they bare, made up the answer. But it)

is rather thought to have been a thing with three legs (after the fashion of the common sort of Tables) with a round cover like a table-bord called ἄμβων, (as the table-bords were) whence *Apollo* is by *Sophocles* called ἐνάμβων, and his Wench ἐνόλμις.

I wonder that ever people could so much *loose themselves*, as to go to her that would be sure to put the businesse in a greater question by the answer, and make them more to seek, than they were before. But that they were resolved to be fooled, because forsooth *Apollo* is λοξὸς *crooked* there too, as well as in the *Zodiack*, and he must παμπέζειν, be crabbed in his *delivery*, as well as in his *gate*. 'Tis his use

Senec. Oed. Act. 2. Sc. 2.

Ambage nexâ Delphico mos est deo
Arcana tegere.

And indeed if we may believe the Scholiast upon *Æschylus*, οἱ παλαιοὶ τὰ ποιήματα αἰνίγμασι γρά-φεσθαι, in ancient time they made their verses in riddles. Now the Oracles were delivered commonly in verse, as he saies.

——*dictæ per carmina Sortes.* For *Sortes* they usually called them, and the Verse for the most part was *Hexameter*, insomuch that this Oracle,

Σοφὸς Σοφοκλῆς. σοφώτερος δ' Εὐριπίδης
Ἀνδρῶν ἁπάντων Σωκράτης φυσιώτατος,

Was thought to be none of *Pythia's*, because it was not *heroick* enough to become the Author. [a] *Plutarch* saies some were of opinion, that there were Poets kept of purpose in the Oracle place μέτρα καὶ ῥυθμοὺς οἷον ἁγγεῖα τοῖς χρωμένοις ἀναλίσκοντες, *to catch the Oracles as they fell, and wrap them up in verse.* But one reason why they delivered their Oracle, in verse, or in brief, and so commonly in obscurity, was, because the god ἀφανίζειν μὲν οὐ θέλει τὸ ἀληθές, not willing to conceale the truth altogether, nor yet desirous to make it known, was faine to have it delivered in such manner, as no body might take advantage to hurt the speaker, if that answer were not according to his mind. 'Tis true in later times it *fell* to prose (when it began to fall in the price) and the reason thereof has

[a] De Pythiæ Oracul.

has been ſufficiently diſputed already by *Plutarch* in a Treatiſe of purpoſe.

The eſteem which they had of thoſe Oracles, was ſuch; that in times of Warre, when no other Divination could prevaile, it was an ordinary thing to faine an Oracle, to perſwade the Souldiers to fight. For they might very well be of *Tireſias* his mind, who though he were an *Entral gazer* himſelf, yet in *Euripides* you ſhall have him confeſſing to *Creon*, that *men were ſo apt to ſpeak contrary to what they knew, either out of ill will, or for fear, or for favour, that there was little, or no credit to be given to any other Prophecy, beſides* Apollo's *own.* Polyænus. l. 2. 27.

—— Φοῖβον ἀνθρώποις μόνον
Χρὴ θεσπιῳδεῖν, ὃς δίδακτον εἰδέναι,

And yet it is cleare, that the Woman or ſome body elſe was naught, and *corrupted* very often. *Tully* when he had thus commended her for a tell-troth, *nunquam illud oraculorum Delphis tam celebre & tam clarum fuiſſet, neque tantis donis refertum omnium populorum atque regum, niſi omnis atas oraculorum illorum veritatem eſſet experta*, afterward comes in with a *Jamdiu idem non fecit*: But indeed, *ſhe has not been thus a long time.* Nay for three hundred years (I think) before *his* time *Demoſthenes* could complain ſhe did φιλιππίζειν, flatter and ſpeak, as *Philip* would have her. Thus one time ſhe was bribed by *Cliſthenes*, to perſwade the *Lacedemonians* to free the *Athenians* from the *Tyranny*: and another time by *Cleomenes*, to perſwade them to deprive his Colleague *Demaratus* of his place. Neither would *Lycophron* call *Apollo* Κερδῶον θεὸν for nothing. Plutarch de Herodot.

But you will ſay ſome other body might play the knave, and put it upon her. And likely enough. For ſo *Cicero* thinks they did in that anſwer reported to be given by *Apollo* to *Pyrrhus*, *Aio te Æacida Romanos vincere poſſe*. And that, Firſt becauſe *Apollo* did not ſpeak in Latine. 2ly, Becauſe none of the Greek writers mention any ſuch thing. And 3ly, Becauſe the Oracles were not given in verſe in *Pyrrhus* his time. L. 2. de Divin.

CAP. II.

De Templo Delphico, de Theoriis, & Oraculi cessatione.

ALL this while I have said nothing of the Temple, for feare of saying too little. So famous and so rich as it was with the gifts or ἀναθήματα, of most of the Princes or people in the world; insomuch that *Apheteriæ opes*, so said from Ἀφίημι the name of *Apollo*, who was *emissor Oraculorum*, hath been used as a proverb for *abundance of wealth*, I have read of *five* Temples erected in the same place at several times. The first was of Laurell-boughs fetcht from *Tempe fields*. The second of *Wax* and *Feathers*, or else faigned to be made *in πτερῶν* of wings, because the mans name was *Pteras* that built it. The third of Brasse (as the Temple was at *Sparta Minervæ* χαλκίοικος.) This, some say, was molten to the ground; others, that it was swallowed up by Earth quake. The fourth, of stone, destroyed by fire the first year of the fifth *Olympiad*. The fifth, built by the *Amphictions* out of the holy treasure in a very steep place, with but one narrow way for the entrance. More might be said concerning the temple, and the E.I. in the frontispice, the reason whereof is disputed by [a] *Plutarch*. but I doubt there is too much already, I will proceed to the Customs, which the *Athenians* (the devoutest servants of *Apollo*) used in sending to him: either to *Delphos*, or to *Delos*, to do him honour, or to ask his advice. The occasion of sending to the Oracle, was either for help in performing some arduous affaires; or for delivery from sicknesse, or the like. When they went thither, they were said ἀναβαίνειν, when they returned again καταβαίνειν. The ceremonies used in sending Embassies *extraordinary* to *Delphos*, were neer the same with those that were *ordinarily* used in the *Delia-feast* once a year, and they were these. Those that were sent were called sometimes θεωροὶ, from the feast; sometimes ἄνακες (like Hebrew *seers*) a name suitable to that of *Apollo* Ἄνακτος in *Pindar* (*Pyth. γ.*) which some notwithstanding interpret

Pausan. in Phoc.

[a] περὶ τοῦ E. I. τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς.

interpret to be his Index, or his *Angel* the *Crew*. He that had the ordering of the busineſſe was called Ἀρχιθέωρος. There were alſo ſent along with them Κήρυκες Μυσικοὶ, two that were to be Θεάνοι, or *Epulones* at *Delos* for that yeare. The ſhip in which they went, was firſt to be adorned with Garlands by the Prieſt of *Apollo*, and ſo were the meſſengers too on the head, the brow, and the neck, τὸ δυμικὸν, τὸ τεμιτὸν, ψυχῆς, in alluſion *to the three parts of the ſoul*. The ſhip was likewiſe called Θεωρὶς, and ſometimes Δηλιὰς. It was wont to be *Theſeus* his, in which the Boyes were brought, that were to be paid to the *Minotaur*, at ſuch time as returning from *Crete* to *Athens*, he inſtituted the plaies, and the ſolemnity celebrated by the aforeſaid *Deliaſta*, when they came to *Delos*. This very ſhip the *Athenians* kept for his ſake, till the time of *Demetrius Phalereus*, ὥστε τοὺς φιλοσόφους ἐκ τῶν αὐξανομένων λόγον ἀμφιβάλλειν παρ' ἔνδειγμα τὸ πλοῖον ὡς σῶν μένον, σῶν δὲ καὶ νέων τὸ αὐτὸ δηλούντων λεγόντων, *Inſomuch* (ſaies Plutarch) *that Philoſophers uſe to illuſtrate that opinion, that the body remains ſtill the ſame notwithſtanding the continual decay, by this ſimilitude*. Beſides this, there were four more *naves ſacræ*, viz. the *Paralos*, *Antigonis*, *Ptolemais*, and *Ammonis*. The things that were *ſent* for the keeping of the feaſt and the Sacrifice, were called πομπαὶ. For when they came thither, firſt they [a] Sacrificed: and then the Maids ſent thither from ſeveral places, fell a dancing a ſtrange kind of dance about the Altar, which they called Γέρανον, μιμούμεναι τὸν *Gruem* the *Crane*: wherein, their motions being crooked like the Cranes neck when he holds it in, they imitated the turnings and windings of the Minotaurs Labyrinth, beating the Altar, and biting at a buſh of Olives, with their hands behind them (as our boys do at *ſnap-apple*) if ſo much be imported in the words of *Callimachus*.

[b] Ἔστεφον δὲ καὶ τὰς ἱερὰς ναῦς τῷ δάφνῃ τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς θύρας καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ τοῦ τραχήλου. Apollonius. l. 2. Argon.

[a] Ἐμπύεσις. apud Pind. Olym. 11.

Πλεῖ μέγαν ἐς βωμὸν ἀπὸ πλαγόπιν ἕλικτον,
Ῥωμαλέον χ' ἑρέμνου ὀδὰξ κόσμα ἀγρίης ἐλαίης·
Χεῖρες ἀναστρέψασαι, &c. Hymn. in Dell.

The Altar was Κεράτινος βωμὸς, and therefore called Κέρατον because it was made by *Apollo* at four years old, of the *horns* of the Goats, which his ſiſter *Diana* killed a hunting upon

upon *Cynthius* hill. The horns were all of the left side, ſaith *Plut. in Theſeo.* And yet in his book *de Solertia Animalium*, 'tis ἐκ δεξιῶν. Whether it ſhould be rendered of the right *ſide*, or *right*, that is fit or handſome, I know not. But ſo ſtrangely were theſe hornes joyned together without any Cement, glue or tye, that it was reckoned for one of the *ſeven ſtrange ſights*, Ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ κεραμέοις θαύμασι, as *Ovid* ſaies,

Miror & innumeris ſtructam de cornibus aram.

During all theſe holy dayes no malefactor was to ſuffer puniſhment. By which meanes *Socrates* had the hap to be repriev'd for thirty dayes, ἕως ἐν τῇ θεωρίᾳ ἐκ Δήλου ἐπανέλθοι, ſaith *Xenophon*. When the *Theori* returned, they came with their Garlands about them, and the People ranne all forth to meet them, opening their doores, and making obeiſance as they paſſed by, which made him complaine ſo in *Euripides*.

In Hippol.

Οὐ χθὲς μ' ἀς θεωρὸν ἄξιοι δόμοις
Πέλας ἀνίξας ἐυφόρους στεφανώσεν.

How the Oracle at *Delphos* came to ceaſe, is uncertaine: Some ſay, *Alexander* put it down. But it appears to have flouriſhed after his time. *Plutarch* thinks it ceaſed as ſoon as men had wit enough to adviſe themſelves, without ſeeking to him that made it his buſineſſe to cozen them. *Dion* ſaies, it was *Nero* murthered the men at the hole, When it left *Delphos* it went to the [a] *Hyperborean Scythians*: for *Abaris* a Scythian one of *Apollo's* Prieſts, wrote a book of his Oracles, and his coming thither. The *Athenians* when all Greece was infected with the Plague, had an Oracle from thence, to make vows and prayers in the name of the reſt. And it was their faſhion to ſend gifts and offerings thither, as they had done to *Delphos*. But what need we doubt of the time or the cauſe, ſince we doubt not of that which *Prudentius* aſſerts,

a Pulcher Apollo Luſtrat Hyperboreas. Delphis ceſſantibus aras Claudian.

——*Ex quo hominis Deus induit artus,*
Delphica damnatis tacuerunt ſortibus antra.
Non Tripodas Cortina tegit, non ſpumat anhelus
Fata Sibyllinis fanaticus edita libris.
Perdidit inſanes mendax Dodona vapores
Nec reſponſa refert Lybicis in Syrtibus Ammon.

The

The Oracle, place, (μαντεῖον or χρηστήριον) of *Jupiter Hammon*, is thought to have been at first a kind of *School* for the family of *Cham*, or *Ham*, but afterward abused by the Devil to this deluſion of *Oracles*. It was in *Africa* among the *Garamantes* in a place almoſt inacceſſible for *heat*, as that place at Delphos was for *height*. *Dodona's* Grove is thought to have been ſuch another *School*, *viz.* for the off-ſpring of *Dodonaim*, Nephew to *Japhet*. But for this there is a Fable of a pair of Doves, that ſhould come from Ægypt, one of which pitcht upon a Beech tree in *Epirus*, and there uſing the voyce of a man, among other good inſtructions, gave order for the building of a Temple in that place, which was done by *Deucalion* after his ſhip came thither (while I ſpeak of theſe things, I cannot but think upon *Noah* and his Arke, and his Dove) beſides the building of the City *Dodona*, nigh unto which this Oracle was. Theſe two Oracles are reckoned the moſt *ancient* of all, and of theſe two, the laſt. Τὸ δὲ μαντεῖον τῶν τεθεσπισμένων ἀρχαιότατον τὸ ἐν Δωδώνῃ χρηστήριον. And therefore a word or two more of it than I thought. It is conceived by moſt, that thoſe *Doves* were certain Women prieſts or Prophets, fetcht from *Ægypt* (the Mart of ſuperſtition) by the *Phœnicians* firſt, and from them convey'd into *Theſſaly*. Now in the *Theſſalian* language, the ſame word which ſignifies a Dove, is uſed alſo to ſignifie a Propheteſs, ἡ πελειάς. *Euſtathius* ſayes, that in the *Theſſalian* tongue *old Women* were called πελειαὶ, and *old Men* πελεῶν, and that thoſe Propheteſſes being three old women, whoſe names were *Promenia*, *Timarete*, & *Nicandre*, either by miſtake of the word, or the fiction of Poets were commonly ſuppoſed to be Doves. The ſame Author alſo ſayes, that perhaps thoſe women being *Barbarians* (whom the Greeks would ſcarce allow to be men & women) for their rude brutiſh language might have bin counted as ſo many birds. But it ſeems to have been no ſuch ſtrange thing in ancient times, for Propheteſſes to have the name of Doves. And therefore *Lycophron* Calls *Caſſandra* by the name Φάτιν *Palumbes*: though in another place ſhe have the name of a more raſling Bird, ἰύγξ. Herodot. In Ill. ξ.

χελιδόνα τὸν χελιδόνα the Swallow, The Scholiast upon *Sophocles* (in his *Trachinie*) hath another conjecture more, besides that which I named last, *viz.* That these Propheteſſes had the name of πελειάδες; or rather, if you will, the old women, therefore had the name of πέλειαι, becauſe they were πελειοκρόαι gray-haired and aged.

Strabo ſpeaks of four Prieſts called Ἑλλοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἑλῶν τῶν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν, from the *fens* neer the Temple. *viz.* of *Jupiter* ſurnamed *Tonurus*, which was a name common alſo to the Prieſts. *Homer* calls them Σελλοὶ, ſaying

—ἀμφὶ δ' Σελλοὶ
Ναίουσιν δ' ὑποφῆται ἀνιπτόποδες χαμαιεῦναι.

They uſed not to waſh their feet, and lay upon the ground when they ſlept. When they gave anſwer, they got them amidſt the boughs, and ſo the Oracle was thought to come from the Oakes, when it came but from *between* them They are called πελειάδες δρύες, and μαντικαὶ δρύες, and the *Argo* reported to be made of the timber *Lycophron* called a Δελφικὸν κίσσον. Round about the Temple ſtood Baſons of Braſſe, one juſt againſt the other Χαλκᾶν λεβήτων πλησίστομον, ſaith *Euſtathius*, of which if you ſtruck but one, all the reſt would cry, and make ſuch a noyſe, that at length *Ex Dodonæum* became a Proverb. Belike they uſed to ſtrike the Baſons as they uſed to do other Baſons and Pots, with a Ring held by a thread in the hand, and ſtriking the ſides of the veſſel ſo many times, to make Divination by the ſounds.

a Cœco Tomuri jovis augure luco Arbore præſagâ tabulas animâſſe Loquaces. *Claudian.*

CAP. III.

De Divinatione per ſomnium, ſuper Meletas in Templis; cum obſervatione dieta.

PRophecying by a *Dream*, was either ἐνυπνίου, *Somniatoris*, of a *Dreamer* of *Dreams*, or ὀνειροκρίτου *Conjectoris*, of an *Interpreter* of Dreams, ſuch as *Hecuba* ſpake of, when ſhe ſaid ὄνειρ' ἐμοὶ κλύοντα τοὐμὸν ὀνείρου. The latter of theſe ſurely belongs to the *technical* part of *divination*, and may be reckoned for an

an *Art*, as well as any other sort of *Ariolation*. For he that shall object that speaking but *sometimes* true, does not argue skill, because *si sæpe jactaveris, quandoque venerem jacies*, in *Cicero's* opinion may be answered with this question, *Quæ tandem id ars non habet?* Besides if it were no Art, what talk we of *Xenophon's* Dream in his service with *Cyrus*; or how came it, that there were so many books written of this subject? For, to say nothing of [a] eleven more that wrote of purpose of it, nor of the Treatise περὶ ὀνειρων reported by [b] *Plutarch* to be found among *Mithridates* his books, *Artemon Milesius* wrote two and twenty books of it himself; and there is a very pretty copy of about fourscore *Senarii* Verses in Greek, touching the signification of such or such a sight in a Dream. But the Dream (you must understand) was not every ὄνας, or *vain* dream (for so does the Etymology import, ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνίνασθαι ἀνθρώπους ἄρχειν, saies *Eustathius*) but ὄναρ, or ὄνειρος, a *morning dream*; fresh and fasting, such as ὄναρ is, saith [c] *Homer*, which they derive ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντως ἄρχειν, which comes about waking time, or ὄνειρος which they derive ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσειν, and of such is that of *Orpheus* in the *Hymn*: Ἄγγελε μειλίχιον δονακῆϊ χαιόμενε ἠ μέλιτι. I believe few that read me are such as *Plutarchs Thrasymede*, or *Plinies Atlantes*, that never dreamt of a dream, and therefore I will make bold to detain them the longer. It is variously conjectured who was the first *conjectour* in this kind. [a] *Pliny* saies *Amphyctyon*, *Hyes*, *Deucalion's* son; *Philo Judæus*, *Abraham*; *Trogus Pompeius*, *Joseph*; *Pausanias* would have it to be *Amphiaraus*, whom he reports to have been deified for his skill, and that they used to sacrifice to him, when they looked for a dream. they talk that the people that lived near *Borysthenes*, and the *Gades*, were excellent at this work; and so were those that lived at the [b] *Hibla*, two Cities so named in *Sicily*. But among all, the *old doting women* were best at it.

Quæ mihi non decies somnia vertat anus.

When they desired to dream a prophetical dream, sometimes they would sacrifice a Ram to *Amphiaraus*, and sleep upon the fleece. For thus the *Daunii* used to do in the Temple

Lib. 1. Divin.

[a] Hadr. Junius.

[b] In Pompeio.

[c] Οὐ γὰρ ὄναρ, ἀλλ' ὕπαρ ἐτύμον, ὅτου τε τετλαότα μοῖρ' ὀνοτάζῃ. Hom. Odyss. T.

[a] Lib. 7. Cap. 5.

[b] Pausan. Eliac. Propert. Lib. 2. El. 4.

ple

c Ἐναγίζουσι δὲ καὶ τῇ μήλαινα χρίονται μαντικὸν ἄδειαν ἔχοντι· μαθόντες ἐκ τῆς Σύρτεως Strabo l. 6. Cæl. Rodig.

ple of c *Chalchas*. So likewise the *Calabri* used their *melota* *sheep-skins*, or fleeces, to sleep upon at the Sepulchre of *Podalirius*. And it seems, it was a common practice both for dreaming; for *Virgil* also sayes,

—Cæsarum ovium sub nocte silenti
Pellibus incubuit stratis, somnoque petivit.

And also for *purifying* a polluted person in the *Eleusinian* and other sacrifices: for they took the skins of beasts that had been sacrificed to *Jupiter* (which they called by the name of Δερκάδες) and laid them under their feet. Nay there was no small use of fleeces and skins in several other businesses; as in Mourning, and at Weddings, when the Wife (as I told you) sate upon a fleece for a cushion, to shew her purpose *Lanificio intendere* of spinning and carding. The *Scythians* play'd mad tricks with skins. For among them, if a man had been wronged, and need of help to revenge himself, he would sacrifice an Ox, and cut the flesh into pieces and boyl it, and sit upon the skin with his hands behind him, and so beg for help. Then came his friends, and every one taking a piece of the flesh, and setting his right foot on the skin, promised either men or arms, or what he best could. Such ceremonies as these, they accounted a fast engagement, and much conducing to the successe. Sometimes they would go and sleep in the Temple with Lautel, or some such sacrificial stuff tyed about their heads, and sacrifice to a *Brizo*, the goddesse of the *dreamers*, so called from βρίζειν to *sleep*. The *Lacedemonians* kept men of purpose to *sleep* in the Temple of *Pasithia*, to watch for dreams. So if any were *sick* they would go and sleep in the Temple of *Æsculapius* to *dream of a remedy*; (as they have used to do with us, to go watch at the Church door, to know who should dye next) *Plutus* in *Aristophanes* did so.

a Αὐτὰ δὲ θεὸν ἐν ὕπνῳ μάντιν Athenæus l. 8. Sat. 6.

κατεκλίνουθ' ἁπάντων ἐμπεφιλημένος.

And the like was wont to be done in *Ægypt* in the Temple of *Serapis*. But *Juvenal* has sufficiently declared the vanity of all these doings in saying,

Nec dubitem dicere, nec te adhuc numina mutant.

Sed

Sed ſibi quiſque facit.

Beſides all this they took a ſpeciall care of their diet, ſo as to faſt for *one* day before, and abſtain from wine for *three*: as likewiſe to forbeare eating Beanes or raw fruit. *Ariſtotle* ſaies, there is no credit to be given ἐνυπνίοις φθινοπωρινοῖς, to *dream in the Autumn*. But *Plutarch* queſtions that again, and ſayes if we eat good and ripe fruit, ἧττον ἀπατηλοὺς, καὶ μᾶλλον ἀληθεύειν ἐνυπνίους συνίσησιν, *our dreams will be the truer*. *Fiſh*, either they counted very good, or very bad. For when they ſacrificed to *Briſæa*, they offered boats full of all manner of things but Fiſh, whether it were to pleaſe the goddeſſe with the ſparing of the beſt thing, or the rejection of the worſt, I cannot tell. [b] *Plutarch* obſerves that the head of a *Polypus* is as *ſoure* in the *dream*, as 'tis ſweet in the *taſte* and therefore compares Poetry to it, when it is not moderately uſed. Some choice there was alſo of the *colour* of their Cloathes. For the whiteſt and cleareſt was beſt, σαφῆ καὶ λευκὰ καὶ λίαν δὲ ὑγιᾶ φάσμα, ſayes *Suidas*: as if Dreams and Viſions muſt needs be the *clearer*. The trueſt dreams, (ἀληθόμαντεις) or the cleareſt viſions, were either a little after it was day, or toward the morning (the former time. [a] *Homer* calls ὀψὲ ἀμολγὸς, *the milking time in the Morning*, in oppoſition to ἠμὲν ἀμολγὸς *the milking time in the Evening*)

—ἐγρήγορθι δ' ἄνωγε
Εὖτε καὶ ἀρτιλόγοι παρὰ μητέρι μάντιες ἦσαν.

ſaies *Theocritus*: and [b] *Ovid* was of the ſame mind. *Pliny* ſayes a dream is never true preſently after eating & drinking. But *Artemedorus* ſayes 'tis all one for that, ἐὰν δ' ἄμετρος τροφὴ ἐπὶ πολὺ παρέχεται ἀδύνατον τὸ ἀληθὲς, for if *you eat too much, the dream will never be the truer, if it tarry till morning.*

[a] Ὡς οἱ ἐταῖροι ὄρθρου ἀπέσυτο πυκνὸς ἀμολγῷ. Odyſſ. δ.

[b] Namque ſub aurora jam dormitante luſerna Tempore quo cerni ſomnia vera ſolent.

Syra, ſect. 49.

[b] Cæl. Rhod. l. 27. c. 10.

CAP.

CAP. IV.

De duabus portis.

SO great difference there was in Dreams, that they were faid to make two diſtinct doors for them to come in by, one of Horn, and another of Ivory. For thus much *Penelope* her ſelf could tell *Ulyſſes* (when ſhe deſired him to interpret her dreams)

Odyſſ. τ. Δοιαὶ γάρ τε πύλαι ἀμενηνῶν εἰσιν ὀνείρων
Αἱ μὲν γὰρ κεράεσσι τετεύχαται, αἱ δ' ἐλέφαντι,

Auſonius ſaies as much, telling you which are the true, and which the falſe,

In Ephemer *Et geminas numera portas quas fornice ebenus*
Semper fallaces glomerans ſuper æra ſomnos,
Altera quæ veros emittit cornea viſus.

And I have heard of ſome Chriſtians that have believed the ſame: *Philoſtratus* ſaies, that in alluſion to theſe doors, they uſed to picture a dream with a white garment upon a black, and a *Horn* in his hand. The door for the *true* dreams was

Nonnus. dion. ſ. of *Horn*.

Λευκαίῳ ἐρεθίσματι δι' ἐυκεράου πυλεῶνος.

(Surely this was made of the horns of the Ram when they ſlept upon the fleece. Of which before) the door for the *falſe* and *deceitful* dreams, was of Ivory, ſuch as that wherewith *Morpheus* was cozened within the Poet.

Nonn. Μόρφεα δ' ἐν ῥώεσσι πεφύκεσιν ὀλίζεν ὀνείρῳ
Κλειστοῦ ἐλέφαντος ἀνοίξαντα πυλῶνα.

Lucian therefore jeers the coverous *Micyllus* for wiſhing his *dream-door* were of *Gold*, whereas there were but thoſe two in all, as may be gathered by theſe words in *Plato*.

a In Charmid. Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ὕπαρ, ἔτη δὰ κεράτων, εἴτε δ' ἐλεφάντων ἐλήλυθεν.

The reaſon of thoſe names, I find very prettily gueſſed at by the Scholiaſt upon *Homer* at the place above commended, and I ſhall deſire your patience to tell them. Firſt, the true (ſayes he) comes by the Horn-door, or ἐκ κέρατος: becauſe

τὸ

τὰ ἐνύπνια κεραίνει, or κραίνει, that is, *effectum reddunt*, they say no more than comes to passe, whereas those that came in by the Ivory door, or ἐξαπατῶντος, ἀλαοσκοποῦντα, or ἀλαλητοῦντα, delude the dreamer with a fruitlesse hope of truth. 2ly κεραίνειν ἐπιβολὴ the *coming in by the Horn* is as much as coming *clearly*, for one may see through horn, if it be made thin: ἐλεφαίρεται, the other *confusedly*, for one cannot see through Ivory, nor any other such white things, as milk or the like, if they be never so little, and so [b] *Macrobius* does Interpret it too. 3ly, By the κέρας is meant the eye, by the figure *Synecdoche*, or κατὰ τοιαύτην χρῆσιν, *cornea tunica*, the first *coat* of the eye. And by the ἔλεφας the mouth, or the *Ivory-coloured* teeth, ἀλλοφανὲς τῶν ὀδόντων, and so the meaning must be, that which is to be *seen* with the *eye* is likelyer, than that which is but *said* to be so from the *teeth*. And this was also the opinion of *Servius* concerning the same fiction, upon those words of *Virgil*,

Sunt Geminæ somni portæ, &c.

4ly. By the *Horn-dore*, may be meant the passage for the more Heavenly and Diviner sort of dreames, ἐξ ἧς ἔστιν ὅτε, ἀληθεύει: by the other, the entrance for the χθονίους: the more earthly, grosse, and confused, Because the Elephants *Proboscis* turnes downeward towards the earth, whereas the hornes of other beasts lookt upward toward Heaven 5ly. Ἐλεφαντίνη, is the door of the false dreams, because, there can be no other but false dreams expected, when the *teeth* have eaten too much.

[b] Speaking of sleepe he. *Hoc velamen cum in quietè ad verum usque aciem animæ introspicientis admisit de cornu creditur, ejus ista natura est, ut enuatum visui pervium fit, cum autem à vero habitat ac repellit, obtusum, ebur putatur cujus &c. lic. 3. in Somnium. Scip.*

The Guests which are to come in by these doors, were thought to be *Ghosts* and *Spirits* from Hell. *Umbræ, shadows* they might well be: and such as ascend in a *fume* too like Furies from the nether part of the body. Againe, as Ghosts are

—δῆμος ὀνείρων, [a]

said to fly in and out like dreams, and death is a sleep: so dreams are said to fly in and out like Ghosts, and sleep is a death. *Lycophron* calls them νυκτίπλανα δείματα, *Night-walking Bug-beares*. Fly they did with *black wings*, like Batts of the night: and therefore *Euripides* calls a dream μελανοπτέρυγον, *Orpheus* ἰανόπτερον, *Lucian* πτηνὸν.

[a] Homer. Odyss. 4.

If

If this be ſo, the reaſon, why before they went to bed, when they meant to dream, they uſed to ſacrifice a Victime, to *Mercury*, was, it may be, not ſo much becauſe of his *Rod*, with which he brought people aſleep, and awakened them again, as becauſe he was Gentleman-uſher of the Ghoſts: for what reaſon ſoever it was, it ſeems *Mercury* was moſt in their minds when they were ready to ſleep: and therefore as at feaſts, ſo at other times, the laſt of their prayers was to him, and the laſt health that went round was his. For ſo we find *Calaſiris* in *Heliodorus*, ὁσὶ πᾶσιν, &c. After he had prayed to all the reſt of the gods, calling upon *Mercury* for εὐόνειρον νύκτα, *a night of good dreams.* Hence was it that they uſed to faſten τὰς ἑρμᾶς, *Images of Mercury* to their beds feet, which from thence had the name of Ἐρμῖνες. When they ſacrificed that *victime*, they uſed to take the tongue and burn it in the fire, as in honour to him to whom they thought all tongues and ſpeech to be conſecrated, ὅτι τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἑρμῆς θεός, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes*. With whom agrees *Athenæus*, φασὶν. ἢ διὰ τὸ εὐγλωττεῖν δὲ τὴν Ἑρμῆν. Others who did not think dreams to be Ghoſts, yet would have them to be put into the heads by Spirits, as *Plato* who thought the aire to be full of ſuch things. And ſo *Democritus* (as the Scholiaſt reports, who ſayes that he had it from *Homer* himſelfe) thought that men dreamt this or that dream κατὰ τὴν εἴσκρισιν καὶ ἔμπλωσιν, or as *Plutarch* has it from the ſame man) κατὰ συγκρίσεις καὶ εἰδώλων, *according to this or that compoſition or ſeparation of Images or Ghoſts, or Phancies*, or ſomewhat. But indeed I think thoſe εἴδωλα, ſhould not be ſo much Images as Imaginations, nor ſo much *umbræ* Ghoſts, as *adumbrationes*, *Images* and *Species* in the phancy proceeding from the *ſpirits* within, and not from thoſe without.

L. 3. Suidas

b σχ. in Odyſſ. 12.

Plut.

In Odyſſ. δ'

a De Placit. Philoſ.

CAP.

CAP. V.

De Somniorum variis generibus, & de eorum lustratione.

FOR their *descent*, they thought all dreams to have one common mother the *Earth*, Χθὼν μήτηρ ἅπασιν, saies *Euripides*. And the Scholiast upon him gives the reason, ἐκ γῆς αἱ τροφαὶ, ἐκ τῆς τροφῆς οἱ ὕπνοι, ἐκ τῆς ὕπνου οἱ ὄνειροι, because *from the earth comes meat, from meat sleep, and from sleep dreams.* Some indeed thought, they were from *Hecate*, (and so they may come from the earth still.) And some from the *Moon*, which was all one, and suited very well to the time of their coming, the night.

For the *Kind* of Dreams, *Macrobius* makes five, *viz.* 1. Ὄραμα, 2. Ἐνύπνιον, 3. Χρηματισμὸς, 4. Ὅρασις, 5. Χρηματισμός. Others divided them into ἀλληγορικὸν, and θεωρηματικὸν ὄνειρον. Θεωρηματικοὶ were οἱ τὰ ἑαυτῶν διὰ σεσωμάτων, *when things appeared in their own likeness.* Ἀλληγορικοὶ were when they appeared in the likeness of *other* things; when one thing was dreamt and another meant, Such as *Cæsar's* was, when he dreamt he lay with his Mother, and so was informed *Imperium orbis terræ portendi, quæ cunctorum viventium sit mater*, that the whole earth, the mother of every living thing was to be *under* him. Nay the distinction of dreams was so accurate, that in the making of them, *Somnus* was feined to have no lesse than three servants to wait upon him. For if he would have a dreame that should concern men, he made use of *Morpheus*, if *beasts*, of *Phobetor* (as *men* called him) or *Icelus* (as the *gods* called him) *Fit fera, fit volucris—* Ovid. Met. l. 11. f. 10.

if inanimate creatures (*quæque vacant animâ.*)

of him that had the name of *Phantasos*. (I wonder how he could remember all the shapes, and the rivers of *Lethe* spring in his house, and his house be as darke a den as any among the *Cimmerii*, for so it is fained to be.)

But after all this doting about a dream, is there any remedy, if I meet with none of the best? Yes by all means, as soon as

I arise, be sure to tell it to *Vesta*, or some other houshold *suff. diis penatibus.*

Vadit & hinc castæ narratum somnia Vestæ
Quæ sibi, quæque mihi non nocitura ferent.

Propert. l. 2. Eleg. 29. Or if you think this too little, tell it to the *Sun*, or *Apollo averruncus*, called by them ἀποτρόπαιος, ἀλεξίκακος, or ἀποσκοπεύς, because his Image used to stand in the *Porches*. Some had rather to doe it to *Hercules*, and some to *Jupiter*, as he does in *Plautus*: But there is better reason why they should do it to the *Sun*, viz. ἐναντίος ὢν καὶ τῇ νυκτὶ δυνατὸς ἀποτρέψαι, &c. *Because the Sun being contrary to the night, might have power to avert, or expell all evills brought by the same.* They are the words of the Scholiast upon that of *Sophocles* Eurip. in Hec. —ἥλιε δέσποινα τ' ὄναρ, &c. They called this action ἀποτροπιάσαι, ἀποτροπιάζεσθαι, and ἀποτρόπαιον εὔχεσθαι, but most properly, ἀποτροπιάζεσθαι τὸν ἥλιον. It was practised by *Iphigenia* in the Poet, when she had dreamt of the fall of the house: although she (or the Poet) had so much wit as to think it to be to little purpose.

Idem in Taur. v. 43. Ἀλλ' ἦλθε μέν μοι τοῦδε φάσματος πάρα
Λόγῳ σφαλεῖσ' ἂν· ἀλλὰ δεῖ τι καὶ δρᾶν τόδε.

If you think that this will not doe neither, try a third remedy, goe make a prayer and wash your selfe lustily in the cold River till you sweat.

Sil. Ital. l. 9. *—— sub lacem ut visa fecundent.*
Oro cubicula, & vivo purgor in amne.

Or if the River water be not good enough, go to the fountain, so he did in *Æschylus*.

In Persis. Ἐπὶ δ' ἀκτὰς ἁλὸς χερσὶν καλλίῤῥου
Ἐλίσσων πηγὰς ἁγνὰς ἀπὸ δυσκόλου μετὰ
Βαμῖδ' ἐσκύσθην ἀπορραίσας ἀέρμονα
Θάλπος δύρας πόνους.

If you think no *cold* water will do it, call for *hot*, as he does in *Aristophanes*.

In Ranis. —— ἐκ ποταμῶν θέρμον ἔχετε
Θέρετρά δ' ὕδωρ
Ὡς ἀφ' ἑστίας ἥκομεν λουσόμενοι.

Bus

But perhaps no kind of *fresh* water is strong enough; you may do well therefore to try in the *Sea*, for there they used to wash away not only the evil of a dream, but of a crime, or disease, or any thing else: for 'tis reported that *Euripides* when he went with *Plato* into *Egypt*, being troubled with the falling sickness, was bid by the Priest, to bath himself in the sea, and being by that means cured, he presently gave this commendation of it,

Θάλασσα πλύσεις πάντα τ' ἀνθρώπων κακά.

So I remember *Plautus* in the Poet is sent to the Sea, for recovery of his sight. After murther (for other sins they scarce thought great enough), *to cast hot water* was a common practice, and then no fear of the displeasure of a god for the future.

Quod ego prius
Mundum lavabo quàm Deos.

De divinatione artificiosa genus primum.

de Ornithomantiâ.

SECT. II.

THE *Technical* part of Divining, *artificiosum genus divinandi*, as *Cicero* calls it, consisted especially in the observing of birds, and the Entrails of Beasts. Besides which were also observed many other things (as the Scholiast saith upon *Homer*) infinite in many more: but the two first were every where most in use. *Quo ego sæpe usum gens, aut quæ civitas, quæ non aut exilii, aut fugæ, aut vastitatis, aut sortium prædictione mutavit?* So the first Inventors, *Cicilians, Arabians, Pisidians*, and the *Umbrians* excelled. The *Lacedæmonians* had so great esteem of it, that every King had his Augur to advise him, as well as the Senate. It was first invented, (saith *Pliny*) by one *Car, Augurin de avibus invenit. Car, à quo Curis nomen habet: adjecit ex cæteris animalibus Orpheus.* Improved it was very much by *Calchas*, so that he proved exceeding useful to the Greeks in the Trojan expedition, not only shewing them how they should pacify *Diana* detaining

Cicer. l. 1. Divin.

L. 7. c. 55.

detaining the ships at *Aulis*, and *Apollo* afflicting the people with a Pestilence, but telling the number of years that the war should last, by the number of Sparrows destroyed by the Serpent in the nest, as *Cicero* renders the verses.

Nam quæ anteactæ matris intra dumos vidistis
Tot nos ad Trojam belli exanclabimus annos
Quæ decimo tandem, & pœna satiabit Achivos.

And yet as cunning as he was, he died for grief, because he could not tell how many Pigs were in the belly of a Sow (say some) or how many Figs upon the Fig-tree (saith *Hesiod*) which *Mopsus*, with whom he contested, was able to tell. The name they called it by was, ὀπωπητὴν, or ὀπωπευτὴν, It was ὀπωπὴς at first with an ω μικρὸν, according to *Plato*, as being ἐκ τοῦ οὐ καλῶς ποιεῖν ἀπόφασιν εἶναι: but now (saith *Aristides*) they write it with omega καὶ ὃ σημαῖνον τιμὴν, to give the better grace to the word: and it is still used as the old word was, for any kind of divination; as ὄρνις, and οἰωνὸς a *bird*, are for any other ominous thing. Now among the Greeks it was the *Augur's* fashion to wear a white garment (whereas it was Purple, or Scarlet, among the Latines.) and to have [illegible] his place and his seat appointed for the purpose, [illegible] Sitting he [illegible] and the Scholiast upon the word, in *Euripides* saith, it was a place made in *Thebes*, where *Tiresias* used to sit and divine. When they went to it εἰ ὀπτεύσοντες ἐν Λίνου τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καθήμενοι (saith the same Scholiast) doubting their memory might not suffice, they carried their *Table-books* with them, and noted down the name, and the flight of the Bird, and every thing belonging thereto. This and the *seeing rod Tiresias* being blind, and only able to *foresee*, and judge of things as they were told him, was fain to have his daughter to do for him: by which means she her self at length, after the death of her father, became very famous at *Thebes* for her skill in the art. Yea not only the *Augurs* of the Greeks, but their manner of observing was different from other people. *Quid quod alii exitum, alii signa*

Aliter

Aliter observavant, aliter respondent, saies *Cicero*. The Greeks accounted the *right side* the luckiest, *Graiis & Barbaris dextra meliora*: the Romans the *left*. Although (to speak the truth) the *side* was the same, only the *posture* of the *Augures* was different, For the Grecians looked towards the North, and the Romans toward the South; & the word *sinistra* for *lucky* or *good signes*, came not so much *à sinistra manu* from the *hands* being left; as a *sinendo*, from the *man's* being left to his pleasure to set upon his exterprize if he would: So saies *Festus* and *Cicero* thus, *Quanquam haud ignoro quæ bona sunt sinistra nos dicere; etiam si dextra sint.* But yet this was the manner of speech, *viz.* For the Greeks, to call the lucky tokens alwaies [a] ἐξιὰ *right* (and therefore *Statius* may seem to have mistaken, when he spake of a Grecian Augury,

b Signa sonus levusque tonet—) the Romans sometimes *dextra*, and sometime *læva*; but the one *more suo*; and the other *more Græco*. *Unlickie* birds (a word used among us for an unhappy *way*) they called [c] ἐξιπέτας, or [d] ἐξίους; when they fled not, or *pitcht* not in their usual height or place. This last word puts me in mind of that saying of *Hyppolitus* perhaps in allusion to it.

—πτηνὸν ὄρνιν
Λόχμης παρελθὼν ἐξέθορον ὀρθὸν ἴδρις.

Sometimes they are called ἀποτρόπαιοι, or κακοποιοὶ *inhibentes*, *depellentes*, *noxii arcendi*, and ἀποκάλεσι (as in [e] *Apollinius*) ab ἀπὸ κελεύω *cedo*, as who would say *non sinistra*, or *non sinentia*; as I told you before. And such they commonly counted those that had long talons or [f] scratcht their heads as they fled, such (as they say) were seen upon *Cassius* his Tent before his defeat: the Latines call them *Volsgras*. But what? is there no *amuletum*, nor remedy against a few paltry birds? yes I have read in [g] *Apollonius*, of a trick to kill one or two of the Worser sort, and hang them up at the door: as we use to doe dead Crowes upon a stick in the field, to scare the living away: Saies he, *Istas nocturnas aves cum penetraverint Larem quempiam, sollicite prehensas foribus videmus affigi ut quod infaustis volatibus familiæ minantur, exitium suis duant cruciatibus.* Birds that were

a Ζεὺς δὲ τοῖς κρείσσοσιν εὐξιὰ σήματα φαίνει. Saies Ajax Hom. Il. 12.

b Theb.

c In Argo Festus.

d Κίρκου πρὸς ἐξίους καὶ στροφαλιγγοῦντα χηλαῖς κόρας πλοκάμους. Saies Æschylus.

e Metam li. 3.

f Ορνιθιδῶν πτερὰ ἐν αἰσίοις ἔρασι

luckie either in their nature, or the place they appeared in; were called ἀῤῥησία, or ἄῤῥητα, that is, such as were not ἔξω φατὰ (*unseatly*, or *unsightly* as we use to say) but appeared κεκοσμημένα ἐν ἱερείοις, (as [d] *Æschylus* has it) in their proper *sphere* or *seat* such they counted Doves, and the ἀηδία in matters of Love: as they did the Cocks, if they kept a continuall crowing in matters of War. For hereupon the Augures once foretold the *Thebans* a victory, *Propterea quod avis illa victa silere soleret, canere, si vicisset*, Cock fightings indeed were usually κάκιστα σημεῖα saith [a] *Artemidorus*, *signes of sedition and discord*. But then you must except the Cock *matches* kept once a year in the Theatre, and instituted by [b] *Themistocles* after the victory gotten over the *Persians*, from them [c] the Cock first came into *Athens*. This bird being alwayes very much looked upon in matters of Warre, was the occasion that *Mars* was pictured with a Cock: insomuch that it was their ordinary sacrifice to *Mars*, and therefore *Aristophanes* in *Avibus* calls it Ἀρηΐου ὄρνιθος *Mars his own bird*. All birds (saith one) were either μαντικοὶ, or μυστικοὶ, or ἀπαίσιοι. μαντικοὶ (I believe) were not many besides Crowes, and Eagles, and Doves, and Owles the most noted of all. Some of them are thought to have had a kind of language, which the Augures came to understand by being licht by Snakes, or some such venemous and veneneficall meanes: *Qui crudis ista* (saies *Pliny*) *& Melampodi profecto aures, lambendo dedisse. Intellectum avium sermonis Dracones non abnuat, vel quæ Democritus tradit, nominando aves quarum confuso sanguine serpens gignatur, quem si quisquam ederit, intellecturus sit avium colloquia.* *Eustathius* saies, that *Helenus* and *Cassandra* were thus licked cleane into Augures, Ἑλένου δὲ καὶ Κασσάνδρας ἐσχηκότων παρ' Ἀπόλλωνος ὀφεις γλῶτταν ὄρεις ἀνατεμόντος αὐτῶν ἐρικτὸν τὸ ἔσω ἐξυπνίσαντος τὰ ὦτα· σοφωτάτω μόνω τῶν τοῦ Πριάμου παίδων Ἕκτορι. I am glad I am saved the labour to reprove those fellows *my self*. For it seems that the wiser sort even amongst them, did give but little heed to the wagging of a feather, or of a bird's taile, when they had a mind to be serious. Looke in *Homer*, and you shall find *Hector* thus chiding with *Polydamus* the Theban *Augur*

Eurip. in Hec.

a Lib. 3. c. 5.

b Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 2. c. 28.

c Athen. l. 14.

Rosin.

σχ. In Aristoph. Aves.

Lib. 10. c. 49.

gur (who had diſſwaded him from fighting, by reaſon of ſome thing or other which he had obſerved in the Birds) ſaies hee, *you may, if you think good, ſit and gaze upon a few fooliſh birds, ſtill your eyes be out, for my part this is my opinion.*

Εἰς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης.

In *Ariſtophanes* you find the birds themſelves *oſcinentes*, *obſtrepentes* and *gibing* their ſpectators of their ſuperſtition.

Ἐγὼ δ' ἐμαυτὸν δείσαν', ἀδελφοὶ, λαμπάδι,
Καὶ βδέλλαν, καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω, καὶ τὸν ἀετὸν ἐνθυμούμενος.

CAP. I.

De extiſpicina, & quibuſdam aliis.

DIvination by the Entrals of Beaſts, or *Exciſpina* (for ſo *Aruſpicina*, *Divination in Sacrifices*, is denominated *à potiori* from the beſt part of it (was more common than that former in all places (*Exta omnes ferè ſtuuntur* ſaies *Cicero*) and eſpecially at *Elis* where it was, by the two families of the *Iamidæ*, and the [a] *Clytidæ*, and *Thelmeſſus* in *Caria* much improved. *Tireſias* had ſo great skill in this art (I cannot ſay *inſight*, becauſe *Jupiter* gave him the skill to recompence his *blindneſſe*) that even after his death, among the Ghoſts there were none but [b] his; *Ulyſſes* himſelf was ſame to trouble his ſoul to come back again to give him adviſe. The whole buſineſſe of Divining at the offering of a victime (for there was ſomething elſe to doe beſides poring in the guts) was called ἱερωσύνη. And a very ſolemn buſineſſe it was, being uſually attended with a feaſt, according to that,

[a] Pindar.

[b] τοῦ γὰρ τυφλοῦ κῶτ', νίου πόρα φρενῶν εἶμι πανύσοχος. Hom. Odyſſ. R.

—Ἵνα τε θεσπεσίαν ἱερωσύνην ἐκτελέσωμεν. Eurip. Electr. v. 835.

Θυσία, or that part of it in *killing*, and cutting it up, is called by *Sophocles* ἀμφὶ βοὸς; and the act of cutting τομή. The ſignes obſerved were moſt properly called σημεῖα, and the obſervers σημειωτικοὶ. If the beaſt were drawn by force to the ſlaughter, if it eſcaped by the way, avoided the blow, fell;

fell not downe quietly, bled but little, were long a dying, kept beating the ground, they were all ill signs. For the two latter of them you have sadly expressed in the sacrifice of *Ægysthem*.

Ibid. —κἄτ' ἂν πεσὼν ἄνω κάτω
ὀσμὴν φέρειν πολλὰς ἐλαχὺς δυσθάνατον ἔσω.

Ill signs, I say those were; and so was any thing else that either was contrary to nature or use, or put themselves to any trouble. Whereas on the contrary all was well, when every thing was done with ease, the beast not striving, and the blood presently darting out, as it is said it did in the Sacrifice of *Menelaus*.

—αἵματος δ' ἅπτεσθαι
Idem. v. 1603. Εἰς οὐδὲν' ἐπαύρειν ἔτι.

Somewhat there was too, which they observed in the very ἁλίματα or *wagging* of his tail, whence that in the Poët.

—ἄκρον ἐκ μυὸς κέρας

The beasts that were thus used were anciently sheep, and Goats, and Calves. The *Cyprians* (they say) made use of Sows, and the *Jamidæ* of Dogs, which was the reason why [c] *Thrasibulus* one of the pedigree was pictured at *Olympia* with a Dog lying by him dissected, and a Weezle (an ominous creature) creeping over his shoulder.

c Paus. in Eliac.

In *Fissiculation* or *cutting* it abroad, they took most notice of the *Liver*, which [d] *Philostratus* saies they accounted the *Tripus* (as it were) or the *chair*, and the *key* of the work. For they thought if the Liver was naught, both the blood and all the rest of the body must needs be so too; insomuch that the work about all the bowels was called ἐπισκοπία, a *looking* into the *liver*. The concavous part of the Liver was called ἑστία *familiaris*, because the signs which they observed there, concerned *themselves and their friends*: the *Gibbous* side, ὑπόβασις or ἀντίστασις *hostilis*, because the tokens in it concerned their *enemies* (as it was with the Romans) The place or *seat* in which all the parts of the liver lay, was called δίξις or δοχὴ: the place between the parts in the middle πυλαία, and εὐπυλαία. Hesychius cals it ἐδρὰν, or ἐπιστομίδα, Euripides πυλὰς

d Ἐν ἡπατοσκοπίαις τὸν ἧπαρ καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τῆς τέχνης εἶναι τιθέασι τοῦτο.

Hesych.

e σχ. ad Orat. Demost. Coron.

——πυλαὶ δ' ἦχὴ πέλας

Καρδίᾳ θέρμην τὴ σωτῆρι σημαίνει.

If there were πύλαι (as they called it) too *much dryth*, or διαμὸς a *tye between the parts*, or especially if it were ἄλοβον, or without a *lobus*, it was a very ill sign according to that of *Appian* τὸ μὲν ἧπαρ ἄλοβα εἰς κίνδυνον ἦλθε θανάτου, τὸ δὲ πῦρ ἦ Lib. 2. εἰς θάνατον. This and other such signs because they were so bad, that they feared to *go any farther in it*; they called ἀκέλευστα. When they came to handle the heart, they called it καρδιοῦσθαι, or καρδιακεῖν. If it were little, or palpitated much, it was an ill sign. Fat in any part of the bowels was good (κίονα δ' κοῖλα συγκαλύπτει) saies *Æschylus*; and so were σπλάγχνων πτύχες, *plaits* and *foldings*, saies *Euripides*.

When they came to *burning*, then they were said more properly δι' ἱερῶν μαντεύεσθαι. At *Delphos* they had πυρκοὶ Hesych. *officers* of purpose for the work. The *fire* which they made use of for this occasion, was in most places made of some peculiar fewel, kindled by the beams of the Sun, and kept in a peculiar place. Thus in *Egypt* they had the *Seraphim*, and among the Persians, the fire which they worshiped under the name of *Orimasda*. At *Athens* they had a torch still burning in the Temple of *Minerva Polias*, and *Virgins* constantly there to see it renewed; just as it was at *Delphos*, and at *Rome* in the Temple of *Vesta*. Xenoph.

In burning they observed especially the flames, whatever he in *Helena* say to the contrary, where he speaks against all other divinations too. V. 751.

Οὐδ' ἦν ἀφ' ἑστὸς ἐσθλὸν ἱερῶν φλογός.

Good signs in the flame were these, if it went upright without a noise, if it continued till all were consumed: or if it suddenly began to have the better sign, instead of σχίζαι *cleft wood*, which they used at other time, they would get small dry sticks that would soonest take fire; τὰ ῥᾳδιουργα, according to that,

Οὐ γὰρ δυοῖν σοι μανθάνουσιν ῥᾳδιουργα ἢ δᾷδες. Lucian.

Now indeed many times ἀ δὲ δᾷδες ἄσπετα ἢ ἀπλᾶ, γενόμενοι δὲ Aristoph. in Pace. πῦρ βλέπουσιν, that is, the Priests being *divinæ linguæ sagaces* Æs. in Eurip.

c Sil. Ital.

c *Flammarum, divined by the burning, when there was nothing seen in the cutting*: and therefore they took the bladder, and binding the neck of it with wool (for which reason *Sophocles* calls the bladders μαλλοδεσμὰς κύστεις) put it into the fire, to observe in what place it brake, and *which way it darted* the Urine, ᾗ πῇ πόρον ἀκοντίζει. Sometimes they took pitch off the Torches, and threw it into the fire, and if there rose but one entire flame, it was taken for a good sign. In matters of hostility, they took most notice of the *gall*, and the ἱερὰ λαμπάδος in the flame: and very good reason, πικρὰ γὰρ ἐχθροῖσι, *for enemies are as bitter as the gall they burnt*. Of the Ashes too they took some notice μαντεῖα ποιοῦν, saies *Sophocles*. In the smoak they observed if it went upright and smelt of the flesh. And so at other times they used to throw frankinsence and Poppey, and other several things in the fire, for nothing else but to observe such things, and to *smell the smoak*. Besides these there were infinite more *Divellish* sorts of Divinations: have the patience to take notice of two or three of the more notorious. Νεκυομαντεία or Νεκυομαντία, was sometimes by the magical use of a *bone*, or a *vein* of a dead body after the fashion of the *Thessalians*, or else by powring hot blood into the carcasse, to make it answer a question, as *Erictho* does in *Lucian*,

Euripi. in Phœn. Μάντεις μὲν ἦλθ' ἐσαφάζων, ἐμπύρους τ' ἀπ' αἰμάτων Ῥήξεις δ' ἐσήμαινον ὀχθοπτ' ἐσαν· ἐκ τῶν Νίκης τε σῆμα κἀπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων ὠλῶν.

a In Oedip. Tyr. Κελαινὰ δ' αἷμα δυσμιγὲς πάτου Αὐγαῖς ἁλίαις πλευρὰ γλυκὺ κάετο. Horoc.

—*Dum vocem defuncto in corpore quærit.*
Protinus astrictus caluit cruor, atr áque fovit
Vulnera &c.

Now because the *Ghost* or the *Soul* was thus recalled to the body (—*animas responsa daturas*) it was therefore sometimes termed Ψυχομαντεία or Σκιομαντεία, *divining by the Soul*, or the *Ghost*. But such as expected any answer thus from the soul *then*, must be sure to be kind to the body *before*: for *Melissa*, the Wife of *Periander*, refused to answer him, because he had not buried her body as he should. But surely there was somewhat worse than a soul, else what need of *lustration* of the party? Such as *Tiresias* used to the b *Theban* King, to keep him from receiving harm. *Hydromanteia* was sometimes by Sea-water, but most commonly by that of

Herod. l. 6.

b Sta. l. 4.

a *fountain*, and so was called *πηγωμαντία*. It was done several wayes 1. By drinking of the Water (enough to make many a *Poet* too) *οἱ ἐκ τοιούτων ὑδάτων πίοντες μαντικοὶ γιγνόμενοι*, saies *Aristides* in his *Orat. de Puteo*. 2ly, By throwing things into it to try whether they would sink or swim, as they did *cakes* in the well of *Ino*. 3ly, By *seeing the Images* of such things as they sought for, especially in the Well of *Apollo Thryxeus* in *Achaia*. 4ly, By *dipping a glasse* in the water, to know what would become of a *sick* man. For as he look't well or ill in the glasse, accordingly they presumed of his future condition. 5ly, By throwing in *three stones*, and observing the *round* they made in the sinking. Sometimes they made use of Oyl, or of Wine instead of Water: and so it was termed *χύτλα*, as when it was done in a Bason, *λεκανομαντία*. *Λιθομαντία*, was by a *Sederitis*, a kind of *loadstone*, which if they washt in Spring-water, would speake like a child. With such a one *Helenus* is reported to have divined the destruction of Troy. *Κοσκινομαντία*, was by a Sive held up by a Thred, or a pair of Sheers, and turning round at the naming of the party that stole the thing or the like. Of this *Theoc. Idyl.* 3. And I have seen it used by some women, *impia fraude*, or *anili superstitione*, I cannot tell which. I have not leasure (neither indeed is it *tanti*) to tell much of other waies of divining, of *δακτυλομαντία*, with *Gyges* his *ring*: or of *ὠιομαντία* with *Eggs*, which *Suidas* sayes *Orpheus* wrote a book of. Or of *κριθομαντία* with *barly*, or of *λυχνομαντία*, by the *burning of a candle*, mentioned by *Pliny* in his *Natural History*, and by *Aratus* in his *Prognosticks*. To which you may adde their common old wives-*Sawes* concerning weather or the like, such as this *Clara dies Pauli bona tempora denotat anni*, not to disparage those more *Astrological* and *Rational*, such as that of *Virgil*.

Pausan. in Lacon.

L. 30. c. 12.

Luna Revertentem, &c. with the rest.

CAP. II.

De ritu Divinandi ex vocibus, & rebus ominatis.

ALL this which I have ſpoken is to conjecture by *things*; but there is a way by *words* alſo, by which according as the words were good or bad, they preſaged ſuch and ſuch events. Such words were called κληδόνες, or φήμαι, from φάναι (ſuitable to the name of *Prophetæ*:) as *omen* comes from *oremẽ, quia ſit ore* (quoth *Feſtus*) You may render it *voices* (for ſo we uſe to call thoſe prophetick ſpeeches, which we hear we know not from whence, as the Scripture alſo does) and *Tully* called them by the name of *voces*: *Pythagorei non ſolum voces deorum obſervarunt, ſed etiam hominum*, Any words that either boded ill, or ſignified that which they diſliked, they called ἀποφήμους: and he that uſed them to another, either to hurt him, or to vex him, was ſaid to βλασφημεῖν αὐτὸν to *blaſpheme* him ὀνειδιζειν. *Euripides* calls it, where he ſpeaks of certain ominous ſpeeches let fall at a feaſt by a ſervant, juſt as one of the company was going to drink

Βλασφημίαν τις οἰκετῶν ἐφθέγξατο.

The Latines call it *obſcœnare*, and the words themſelves *male ominata verba* (as it is in *Horace*) we may engliſh it *hazlening ſpeeches*. Such words as theſe they had alwaies a ſuperſtitious care to avoid; inſomuch that they would ſay inſtead of Κλειστέον or *a priſon*, εἰσημαστέον *houſe*. And ſo for Ἐρινύες, Εὐμενίδες; and Σεμναὶ θεαὶ: for ὠδῖνα, ὠλένας: for μῦς, ἀγρὸν and the like. For there is a kind of words, which (as *Tully* ſaies of *Nulla ſpes Reipublicæ*) *non licet*, (to ſpeak in the phraſe of *Terence*) *Religio eſt dicere*, they made a ſcruple to ſpeak, and therefore in time of Sacrifice, or any other buſineſſe with the gods, nothing was more ſtrictly commanded and obſerved, than εὐφημεῖν (as it was among the Romans in the Proclamations for keeping of holy dayes) *to avoid all ominous expreſſions*, or φήμας ὀρθὰς (as they called them.) Which if they were ſpoken by a brother, or one very neer of kin to that

Lat. Divin.

Jon. 1188, Epiſt. ad Callium.

Plato l. 7. de Leg.

that party whose business was then in hand, they took the greater notice of them, and thought them so much the worse. What words were especially counted for ominous, you might give me an account, if you could give me *Suetonius* his book, of which we have but the title, *viz. De vocibus malè ominatis.* Only thus much I may tell you, that when they first set about any business of concernment, they had a special care to begin with a *Prefatio bona*, or εὐφημία, or ἀγαθὸν μὲν ἔστω, like to *Persius* his *hoc bene sit*, & alias old thread-bare word of the Latines, *Quod bonum, felix, fortunatumque sit.* Some words there were, and Proper names of such a signification, as it was counted a happiness but to hear them spoken. For so when *Julus* had said

Mensas etiam consumimus—presently (saies *Virgil*) his father laid hold on the *word* and imbraced the omen,

—*ea vox audita laborum*
Prima tulit finem, primúmque loquentis ab ore
Eripuit pater—

So *Leotychides*, when he desired of a *Samian* his assistance against the *Persians*, asked what his name was, and being answered *Hegesistratus*, reply'd, *I embrace the omen* in the *nomen*, or Ἡγησίστρατος δέχομαι τὸ οἰωνόν for δέχομαι τὸ ὄνομα, is the same with *hoc*, that *accipere omen* is with the *Latines*; that is, to make an ominous speech an omen indeed, and *take* it to my self. For indeed they counted it much in the power of the hearer, to make it an omen or not an omen: *ostentorum vires in eorum erant potestate, quibus ostenderentur*, saies *Pliny*.

Now the way to *abominate* an *omen*, was either to fling a stone at the *thing*, if it were an ominous *creature*, as a Cat, or the like: or else if it were an unlucky *speech*, to retort it back again with ἐς κεφαλήν σοι, *tibi in caput redeat*, *let it return upon thine own head*. Which perhaps, is an expression borrowed from a custome of the ἐξηγηταὶ, not only among them, but among the Ægyptians also, who when they spied any thing of the *victims*, that seemed to portend ill to their country, used to pray εἰς κεφαλὴν τοῦ τῷ κακὸν ἐστι, *that is might return upon the head of the beast*. The like perhaps is used in the Hebrew, Herodot.

Obadiæ v. 15. & 1 Kings 2. v 44. &c.

Hebrew, viz. ישב בראשו in ſeveral places of the Scripture: and it puts me in mind of that laying in *Seneca*, *Quis non ſi admoneatur aut de ſuis cogitet, tanquam divum omen reſpuat, & in capita ſua imiſerunt, aut ipſum incompoſitivi monitoris abire illa jubeat.* Inſtead of this ſometimes they would ſay εἰς ἀγαθὸν μοι, *dii meliora.* Sometimes upon ſuch an unlucky ſpeech heard while they did ſuch a thing, they would do it *another way*: or do it *again*: as one in *Euripides*, upon ſomebody ſpeaking an unhappy word as he was a drinking, threw the drink on the ground, and called for another cup.

Moſch. Idyl.

Things ominous, ſome of them were in the parties own bodys, and theſe were either 1. *Marks*, ſuch as ἔλαια, *ſpots* like oyle. 2. Παλμοὶ 3. Πταρμοὶ. παλμοὶ ὀφθαλμῶν, were ſuch as the palpitations of the heart, or the eye, or any of the muſcles, called in Latine *Saliſſatimes*; and βόμβος, or *tinnitus aurium*: which if it were the tingling of the *right* ear, it was as good as the palpitation of the *right eye*. Of theſe things *Melampus* the great Fortune teller wrote one book to *Ptolemæus Philadelphus*: and *Poſidonius* another (ſayes *Suidas*) which he called Παλμικὰ ὀνειροκρίτικα.

b Ἄλλος ἀπαλμὸς μυὸς ἀξίνης. Theocr. Id. 3.

Πταρμὸς *Sneezing*, was ſo ſuperſtitiouſly eſteemed of, that it came at length to be counted for a *god*, ὃ πταρμὸν θεὸν ἡγούμεθα, ſaies *Ariſtotle* in his Problems. Which was the reaſon, ſaith *Athenæus*, that they abſtained from eating the *brain*, out of which the ſneezing came: as alſo the cauſe of that uſual prayer of ſalutation Ζεῦ σῶσον at a ſneezing: according to that jeer of *Ammian* upon a fellow with a long noſe, as if it had ſtood ſo far out, that he could not hear himſelf when he ſneezed.

L. 21

Οὐδὲ λέγω, Ζεῦ σῶσον, ὅταν πταρῇ, ἢ δὲ δόλιχος
Τῆς ῥινὸς πολὺ δὴ τῶν ὠτίων ἀπέχει.

Inſomuch that if a man ſneezed at ſuch a *time*, or on ſuch a *ſide*, they were either perſwaded to, or diſcouraged from the buſineſſe undertaken. *Socrates* (as *emunctæ naris* as he was) had ſo little *ſenſe* himſelf, as to fetch advice from another mans *noſe*, and to make a Sneeze ſerve inſtead of a genius or c *dæmonium*, to tell him the good and the bad;

Caſſium. Plutarch. de

for

for it did both, according to circumstances. If a man Sneez'd in the *afternoon* it was a good omen: but ill in the morning; and the reason is disputed by *Aristotle* in his *Problems*. If a man Sneezed at table while they were taking away, or if another happned to sneeze on the *left* hand of a man; then beware, all is not right. But if it happned on the other hand, all was well. If I may take *Euphrantides* his judgement, encouraging *Themistocles* his Souldiers to fight, upon no other ground than such a sneeze, ἅμα ἡμῖν καὶ δεξιῶν ἐπτάρνυτο. Such a sneeze while *Xenophon* was making his speech, was enough to make him a General. But another, while he perswaded the Souldiers to fight, was to them such an omen of ill luck, that they were fain to nuncupate a publick vote for the expiation of it. However (I think) *ordinarily* it was reckon'd for *good*; as in *Homer* that of *Telemachus* was, presently after a speech made of *Ulysses* his return, and revenging himself of his enemies.

Ὡς ἔφατ', εὐξάμενος δὲ μάλ' ἔπτηξεν ἔπος — and so *Penelope* took it (for saies she laughing and rejoycing) Οὐκ ἐτὸν ἡμῖν ὑὸς ὑπέρφιαλος πᾶσιν ἔπεσσι. And the reason may be because sneezing is commonly *healthy* and *wholesome*, σωτήριον: which perchance was understood by the aforesaid *Euphrantides*, when he added ἅμα δὲ σωτήρια τὴν νίκην ἐσεσθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησι. But now at last I must tell you of *this* way of divining too (as I did of the former) that it was long ago slighted even among the *Grecians* by the wiser sort, for example, *Timotheus*, when one of the Souldiers happned to sneeze, as he was going on shipboard being therefore dissuaded from going by the Master of the ship, burst out a laughing and said, τίνων δὲ οἰωνισμὸν εἶναι τοσούτων φετευκότων εἷς ἁλῶναι; *What great Omen can it be for one man to sneeze, when there be so many together.* But among the *Romans* a great deale more: for *Cicero* put it among the other fooleries, *Quæ si suscipiamus & pedis offensio nobis, & corrigiæ abruptio, & sternumenta erunt observanda.* L. 2. de Div.

Ominous *actions* or *accidents*, were such as these following. First at a *Sacrifice*, it was an action much used, to take a piece

piece of the *cake* or *any* other thing; and carry it home *bona fœvæ gratia*, as we say, *for the lucks sake*. This piece of cake, or pudding, or what shall I call it, they called by the name of [a] *ὑγίεια sanitas*: If in sacrificing the Priest did let any thing fall out of his hand, it was lookt upon as an unluckie *accident*. This observation the Romans called, *caducum auspicium*. Secondly, at a *Feast* this action was luckie, to crown the Cup with a Garland — *paterámque Corona indnit*. The reason (saies *Eustathius* out of *Athenæus*) was this, because a Garland represents a circle, [b] *πάντων γὰρ τέλειόν ἐστι τὸ στεφανοῦσθαι, which is the most compleat figure of all, and holds most*. Unlucky *accidents* were such as these, *viz.* The coming in of a strange black dogge, the cracking of a table, the spilling of wine, (of which *Xenocrates* had no more wit than to write a book) taking away while one was drinking, or a suddain silence. In putting on of the cloathes the right side must be served first, and therefore if a servant had but given his master the *left* shooe first, he was sure to have it. And thus much at *Home*. *Abroad* they had for their Omens, οὐ μεβόλα ἐνάντια, or συμβόλως ὁρώμενα. That is (saies the *Scholiast*) τὰ πρῶτα ἐντυγχάνοντα, *occursacula, any thing that met them first*. Of such as these one named *Hippocrates* (not the Physitian) and another named *Pollos* wrote their books. If a Snake lay so in the way, as to part the company: or if they met with a Hare, or a Bitch with whelps, or a Fixon with Cubs: Oh! these things were δεύματα ἀποτρόπαια καὶ ἀπευκτέα θεάματα, *abominanda & averruncanda*, abominable *sights*. So if a man happened to meet with a Black-more, or an Ape, or an Eunuch, [c] ἀπὸ πόδα ἑκατόν, saith *Lucian*, *he must stand forty foot off*. Nay if we meet with a Weezle or such a creature in the crosse-way, we will have no *Comitia* sit for all this day. And [d] *Artemidorus* will give you a reason, why γαλῆ should be so much taken notice of, in his [e] δρομικοῖς, or running by: because (forsooth) it is ἰσόψηφος τοῖς κλέπταις, that is, (as I think) the letters in each word will signifie the same number, *viz.* 42. But if it be so, how came she to be such an enemy to κλέπται, as to interrupt the course of *justice*? perhaps it

[a] Ὑγίεια ἁλῶναι οἴνῳ ἢ ἐλαίῳ πεσούσης, ἢ πᾶν τὸ ἐν τῇ θυσίᾳ θεσθὲν, εἴτε μύρον, εἴτε σκεῦος. saies Hesychius.

[b] In Aristoph. Av. Suidas.

Chrysostom.

Lucian

Aristoph. in Eccles.

[c] L. 3.

[d] Plutarch. de Philadel.

[e] Aristoph. in Eccles.

it was onely then, when they omitted that usual ceremony, of leading her about the house for a *lustration*, to purge it of *unluckie* things. Infinite many more sorts of Divinations might I mention of this kind, but it will sufficiently testifie what regard the Grecians had of such Bables, if I tell you how that at Thebes *Apollo Spondius* himself had his *Altars*, and his prophecying by Omens μαντεῖον ἐκ κληδόνων. So likewise at *Smyrna* he had his κληδόνιον ἱερὸν *his Temple* for Omens too (sayes *Pausanias*) where the fashion was for him that came for an Omen, first to whisper his question in the *Idols* eares, and then presently stopping his own, to go forth of the Temple, and the first voice heard after he came out must go for the Oracle. And so much of Divining by a conjecture by art. One word or two of lots, and Ile have done.

CAP. III.

De Sortibus, &c.

THis way of Divination is clean different from the former because in it (as *Cicero* sayes) *temeritas & casus, non ratio & consilium valet*. For though there might be *casus* of the *things* in the former, yet there was skill withall in the *person* to give signification. It was *invented* by *Minerva*: onely *Jupiter* took away her *credit*, to make the better trading for *Apollo*. *Casting*, or *Drawing* lots, was either with ἀστράγαλοι, or *tali cast* into a box: or with *tessera* (γραμματεῖα *Plutarch* calls them) little wooden tables with *letters* upon them *drawn* out of a pot; or *calculi* little *balls* of earth, with marks upon them for the names, sometimes taken out of a pot, and sometimes thrown into a well) whether to see which came up first, or how it was I cannot tell) *Pausanias* speaks of the wooden tables, that they were used in the temple of *Hercules* Βυσσιὰς in *Achaia*. And the like (they say) were usd by the *Parliament of five hundred*, with the characters of the ten first letters upon them, to shew to which of the ten Courts every Judge was to go (together with the Image

In Fabio.

De iis supra.

mage of a rod the enſign of *Mercury*, the god of *Lots*) he that had the Alpha, went to that Court which had the ſign of *Alpha*, & they had the reſt to the Courts that bare the names of the letters. *One* of theſe waies or *all* (which I know not) was ſo much uſed by the *Thriæ* (the *three Nymphes* reported to have been the nurſes of *Apollo*) that at length the word *thria* came to be uſed for *ſortes, lots*, according to that

Πολλοὶ θριοβόλοι πάρ᾽ ἐμοὶ δὲ τι μάντιες ἄνδρες

Calculi were much uſed in *ancient* times in *Judging of cauſes*, and in *wreſtling matches*, and the like: though (it ſeems) in *Cicero's* time not ſo much, *Quis enim magiſtratum, aut quis vir illuſtrior utitur ſortibus, cæteris vero in locis planè refrixerunt.* In their *Wreſtling matches* I have read that they had a ſilver *pot* called the κύλιξ, into which they put little *pellets* about the bigneſs of a bean, according to the number of the men, two with one mark: and thoſe that happened to draw the *ſame* mark were to Wreſtle together: or if there were an odde man, he that had the luck to meet with the odde pellet (whom they named ἀποδέκτην) was to *come in at Kings* (as we ſay) or to wreſtle at laſt with him that had the maſtery. How they uſed them in *Judging of Cauſes*, has been ſhewed by another already. But that they were uſed alſo by perſons condemned to dye, may be gathered out of *Ariſtophanes in pace*. For by reaſon that one only was to be put to death in one day, and ſometimes the judgement was reverſed, the Priſoners did caſt lots who was to dye firſt; and he that drew firſt, was commonly called by the name of Ἑρμῆς the *Mercury*. Thus in the ſhip in a ſtorm, they uſed to caſt lots who ſhould be thrown over board for a θυσία. Thus *Euſtathius* ſayes, the lot fell to * *Iſmene*, juſt as it did to the Prophet *Jonah*. And ſo in moſt of the Temples, that were reſorted unto for Oracles, there were οἱ κλῆροι *Lots* and a table of purpoſe to *throw* for it; after the receiving of the anſwer; for ἐὰν βάλλοντός μου τὸν ἀστράβην, ἀποτελεσθήσεται τὸ ἔπος, εἰ δὲ μή, οὐκ ἀποτελεσθήσεται (ſaies the σχ upon *Pindar*) *if I throw ſuch a caſt the propheſy will be fulfilled, If I do not, it will not.* Nay in the Lanes, and the Streets, and the croſſe waies they had their

L. 2. Divin.

Pag. 218.

Il. 7.

Pyth. Od. 4.

ſortes

sortes viales (οἱ ἐνοδίους συμβόλους *Æschylus* calls them, and ἐνόδιος is a Title of *Mercury*) as well as the Romans. For the party that would know his fortune, carried so many nuts about him, with several inscriptions: and the next boy he met with in the way as he went, he bid him draw: and if that which came forth, agreed with that which he had in his mind: it went for as good a Propheſy as the beſt, according to that of *Tibullus Eleg.* 1.

Ille ſacræ pueri ſortes ter ſuſtulit; illis
Rettulit è trivio omina certa puer.

Artemidorus in his *Proœmium* ſpeaks of τοὺς ἐν ἀγορᾷ μάντεις, Diviners in the *Market*. The originall of this divination *Plutarch* in his book *de Iſide, & Oſiride*, fetches from the *Ægyptians*. For when *Typho* had put *Oſiris* in a cheſt, and thrown him into the Sea, *Iſis*, as he was wandering too and fro to ſeek him, happened upon a company of boyes at play, and aſking of them, they ſhewed him the place, ἐν τούτῳ τὰ παιδία μαντευόμενα ἔχειν δύναμιν ἐκ φωνῆς ἢ κλήσεως ἐντύχοι. Καὶ δὴ παιζόντων ἐν ἄσσοις ἢ ὀστραγάλοις ὅτι εὗρεν ἐκάλεσεν. Beſides theſe wayes already mentioned, they had another, by opening ſuch a Poet in one or more places, and taking the firſt verſes they met with for a prediction: which way of prediction they called ψυχομαντεῖον, or ῥαψῳδομαντεῖον. And of this are meant the *Sortes Homericæ* we read of. And *Virgilianæ*: which they ſay *Severus Alexander* made uſe of, when he met with this verſe of *Virgil*.

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.

Nay the Chriſtians themſelves have not ſticked to practiſe the like upon the Bible, according to that of *Nicephorus Gregor.* Ἀνοίξαι ἔσχατον δὲ ἐν ψαλτηρίῳ βιβλίῳ τοῦ εἰκάσαι ἕνεκεν. And thus *Hercules* is reported by *Cedrenus*, to have askt counſel out of the New Teſtament, ἐν τόπῳ ἐπιτυχόντι ἐν Ἀλβανίᾳ παροχυμάσαι, and to have been thereby perſwaded to Winter in *Albania*. Sometimes they would make choice of divers fatidical verſes, and having written them upon little Tables, put them into a pot and draw for it. *Auſtin. l. 4. Confeſ. cap.* 3. Makes mention of theſe lotteries. *Si enim de Paga-*

nis poeta cujuspiam longè aliud canentis atque intendentis, cum sortem quis consulit, mirabiliter consonus negotio sæpè versus exiret. And this way they say that *Socrates* foretold the day of his death. But thus much may suffice of κλῆδες sortes, for by κλῆδα in the *singular* number, is many times meant the hint, or occasion given Diviners to speak what they did:

23. In Eurip. Hippol. τὸ σημεῖον τὸ διδόμενον τοῖς μαντικοῖς ἀφ' ὧν εἰ μάλιστα ἐμμανῆ καὶ θεοφιλῆ τὸν τρόπον ἐκεῖνον ἐποίουν.

For the Diviners themselves, *Vates*, or μάντεις as they did but little better than *fain* like Poets; so they did imitate them too in many other things, as in eating of hearts and livers, and tying of Laurel about their heads, as the Poet [a] sayes of *Cassandra* [b] Χλωρὸν μὲν στέφανον δάφνας κεκμηδότα. For why? *—venturi præscia laurus.* The Laurel they took to be a thing of special and soveraign vertue, both to set a man a Prophecying (and therefore *Eurip.* calls it θεόπτιον δάφνην) and to preserve him from any evill, and therefore very much used in Lustrations, insomuch that they would commonly have the staves they carried in their hands, to be made of Laurel wood. They had their dyet in the *Prytaneum* like *publick* persons. Χρηματίζουσι μετὰ τῶν ἐν πρυτανείῳ σιτήσεως, sayes the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes*. There was one more *noted* Fraternity of them, called the μυσάδαι, οἵ δύο ἢ τὴν ὀργίαν μάντεις, sayes *Hesych.* Three Prophets there were of very great fame, every one called by the name of *Bacis*. The eldest was of *Eleon* in *Beotia*; the next of *Athens* (he that cured the *Lacedemonian* women of their madnesse) and the youngest of *Caphia* in *Arcadia*, of *Bacis* some men say, otherwise called Κάλλις and Ἀνήνυτος. Answering to these three *men*, the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* (in *Irene*) sayes there were three *Women* Prophets, every one of whom was called by the name of *Sybilla*, viz. *Delphica, Erythræa*, and *Sardiaca*. But the first [c] (believe) had most of the *Spirit of a Python, and brought her Master most gainful Southsaying.*

[a] Eurip. Iphi. in A v. 757. [b] In Androm.

[c] Acts c. 16. v. 16.

And

And now, Courteous Reader, though I have done so much so ill allready, I must be forced to do more yet, and excuse one fault with another. For my desire is to leave thee fully satisfied with my reasons why I did it at all, and why I did it no better. The cords that drew *me to do it (and* drawn *I was)* were three, *such as twisted together* I *could by no means break,* viz. *First the importunity of my friend. 2. The necessity of the knowledge of Ancient Rites and Customes, for the understanding of Authors: and 3. The hopes which I had, by Employment (as by an* Issue*) to divert my humour of Melancholy another way. The causes why I did no* better, *are as many* viz. *First want of years and judgement, having done the most part of it in my* Tirocinium *(when I took more delight in these studies) as appears by the number of the Authors which I have cited. Secondly, want of health. And thirdly, want of time and leasure, being called away by occasions, that might not be neglected, and by friends that could not be disobeyed. If yet I have given thee but little light, and my labour and oyle be not all lost, I have as much as I desired my self, and thou hast no more than I owed thee.*

Z. BOGAN.

Μέσσοι ἔτ' ἐνοῖσ' ἔδ' ἔχοντ'; Ἐρεθιόωσι
Μητίεσσι κύκλα δύω, Παλίεργοι δ' ὄχεα. Σῶμα χθὼν ἄλλο
Ἄλλο· ἑὸν μὲν ψυχικὸν, εἴτε ψυχὴ ἐστιν ἀχλύα.
Ἦ σὺ, Πέτον, Πλήρωμα, τὸ φρὶν πέρωμα, πτερύξαι·
Εὐγε, τὸ δ' Ἐνώπιον ἀρχαῖα Σὺ μᾶλλον ἦ' αἰεὶ
Μᾶλλον ἀπουζούσιον Σκυδιμῆ κεφαμιδία τέρμα.

Ἐκδύσει εἰνὶ νέα τί νέον; πάρος, ὄρνι, ἔραπτε,
Θρίπες, λεχὼ, Ἰκάτιν, Μακεδύνη, Πέλεμος.

R. WARRE,

C. C. C.

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